The Open Book and the Sealed Book

Jeremiah 32 in its Hebrew and Greek Recensions

Andrew G. Shead

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To Jean

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PREFACE

> Take these books—this book of the purchase—that is, the sealed book and this open book, and put them in an earthen jar so that they may last many days (Jeremiah MT 32.14).

> *Aliud est enim vatem, aliud esse interpretem.*
> It is one thing to be a prophet, and another to be a translator (Jerome, *Incipit Prologus in Pentateucho*, line 29).

This monograph arose in part from a dissatisfaction with the extent to which literary considerations have tended to control the outcome of text-critical work in the Hebrew Bible. The fact that we have just one text to work with (the Masoretic Text) makes this inevitable, but it seemed desirable to me to make more of an effort to objectify the process, and to this end I have followed the textlinguistic contours of one feature of Jeremiah—its markers of direct discourse—in the hope that this will provide a baseline for text-critical sightings.

Yet Jeremiah is unique in the Hebrew Bible in that, while it too gives us but one text, it also holds out for us the promise of a quite different text sealed up within the Septuagint. The desire to find out whether this sealed book could be opened up to be set alongside the open book provided the second and main impetus to the present study.

What follows is no more than a preliminary sounding of the problem. There are 51 other chapters in Jeremiah whose analysis will no doubt refine the picture painted here, just as there are numerous literary features of the book yet to be factored in to its textual criticism. This particular study began as a doctoral thesis presented to the University of Cambridge in December 1998. I owe a great debt of thanks to my supervisor, Professor Robert Gordon, who introduced me to the discipline of textual criticism and helped to make my work a pleasure.

Among all those who deserve thanks for their part in the production of this book I should single out the Warden and the librarian of Tyndale House, Cambridge, and the Principal and the librarian of Moore Theological College, Sydney. Each in his own way has provided me not

merely with access to arguably the finest biblical research library in its respective country, but has been unstinting in timely support and guidance. I should also like to acknowledge the generous financial assistance of the Australian College of Theology Faculty Research Scholarship and of the Council of Moore Theological College, Sydney, under its principal, Dr Peter Jensen.

For keeping me away from the discipline of textual criticism and making my life a pleasure, I have my family to thank: the 'Great Thesis Interrupters' Katherine and David, and Jean, who bore them both during our time in Cambridge, who kept us afloat financially, and who wrote a thesis of her own into the bargain. Of what I have produced over the past few years which is of lasting value, only a small part is in written form, and all has come into being and been nurtured through the loving care of my wife and—supremely—of our gracious Lord.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *Conventions Adopted in this Work*

Biblical references to Jeremiah invariably indicate the Hebrew versification first and the Greek (after Ziegler) in brackets, even if it is the Greek text under discussion.

Hebrew text units are broken by Indo-European punctuation (e.g. commas, full stops), with the exceptions of ellipses and square or pointed brackets: ..., [ ], ‹ ›.

Works from the first Bibliography (Sources and Resources) are cited by author (or title if there is no author) and page or section numbers where appropriate, e.g. Ziegler, 12; DG, §24.2g; *Šab.*, 28b.

Works from the second Bibliography (Commentaries, Monographs and Articles) are cited by author *and date* and page numbers where appropriate, e.g. Ziegler 1958: 44-45. When necessary, the original publication date is added, e.g. Ehrlich 1968 [1912]: 207.

2. *General Abbreviations and Sigla*[1]

<table>
<tr><td>|</td><td>separates equivalent readings in different versions</td></tr>
<tr><td>]</td><td>separates alternate readings in a single version</td></tr>
<tr><td>></td><td>omission of a (few) word(s)</td></tr>
<tr><td>om.</td><td>omission of a half-verse or more</td></tr>
<tr><td>[...]</td><td>omitted against the tradition; not original to a citation</td></tr>
<tr><td>‹...›</td><td>added against the tradition</td></tr>
<tr><td>#...#</td><td>transposition</td></tr>
<tr><td>※, ÷, ⸓</td><td>Hexaplaric asterisk, obelus and metobelus</td></tr>
<tr><td>*</td><td>hypothetical or non-existent form of (Hebrew) word or biblical verse</td></tr>
<tr><td>1°</td><td>first occurrence [etc.]</td></tr>
<tr><td>BtF(s)</td><td>Botenformel(n)</td></tr>
<tr><td>G</td><td>the Greek version of Jeremiah</td></tr>
<tr><td>G</td><td>the same, in citations</td></tr>
<tr><td>K</td><td>kethib</td></tr>
<tr><td>K^{Or}, Q^{Or}</td><td>K, Q of eastern Masoretes</td></tr>
<tr><td>K^{Occ}, Q^{Occ}</td><td>K, Q of western Masoretes</td></tr>
<tr><td>κτλ.</td><td>καὶ τὰ λοιπά</td></tr>
<tr><td>La</td><td>Vetus Latina</td></tr>
<tr><td>LXXV</td><td>the Vorlage of G</td></tr>
<tr><td>LXX-V</td><td>the same, in citations</td></tr>
<tr><td>M</td><td>the Masoretic Text of Jeremiah</td></tr>
<tr><td>M</td><td>the same, in citations</td></tr>
<tr><td>MP</td><td>Minor Prophets</td></tr>
<tr><td>NC</td><td>Noun Clause</td></tr>
<tr><td>om.</td><td>omission of a half-verse or more</td></tr>
</table>

1. For Septuagint MSS, see Ziegler.

Pesh	Peshiṭta	tr.	transposed
PN	personal name	*w=qatal*	Clause-initial pf. verb preceded by waw
pr.	brought forward (*praemittit*)	*w=x-qatal*	Clause consisting of waw + nominal element + pf. verb
Q	*qere*		
rel.	remainder	*wayyiqtol*	waw consecutive impf.
Sam. Pent.	Samaritan Pentateuch	Vg	Vulgate
SNC	Simple Noun Clause	*WEF*(s)	*Wortereignisformel(n)*
Syh	Syro-Hexaplar	*WGF*(s)	*Wortgeschehensformel(n)*
Tg	Targum Jonathan to the Prophets	*x-qatal*	Clause consisting of a nominal element + pf. verb
Targ. Onq.	Targum Onqelos to the Pentateuch		

3. *Sources of Ancient Manuscripts, Texts and Versions*[2]

1QH	F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*
	F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*
4QDeut^{h,o}	= 4Q35, 42 (E. Ulrich *et al.* [eds.], *Qumran Cave 4*, IX)
4QJer$^{a\text{-}e}$	= 4Q70-72b (E. Ulrich *et al.* [eds.], *Qumran Cave 4*, X)
Eb 10, 22	A. Alba Cecilia, *Biblia Babilonica: Jeremías*. For details of originals, see Kahle, 125-27.
MT	*BHK*
	BHS
	HUB
	The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition
Pesh	A.M. Ceriani (ed.), *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti*
	ktb' qdyš' (repr. of Samuel Lee edn)
Sam. Pent.	A.F. von Gall (ed.), *Der Hebräischer Pentateuch der Samaritaner*
Septuagint	A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*
	J. Ziegler (ed.), *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*
Syh	M. Norberg (ed.), *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis*
Tg	J. Ribera Florit, *Targum Jonatán de los profetas posteriores en tradicíon Babilónica: Jeremías*
	A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*
Vg	*Biblia Sacra Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad Codicum Fidem*

2. For full details, see the first Bibliography.

4. *Rabbinic Writings*[3]

B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
Giṭ.	*Giṭṭin*
Ned.	*Nedarim*
Šab.	*Šabbath*

5. *Periodicals, Reference Works*[4] *and Serials*

AASFDHL	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes humanarum litterarum
AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThD	Acta Theologica Danica
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
BAGD	W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich and F.W. Danker, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*
BaST	Basel Studies of Theology
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BC	Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica* (ed. R. Kittel)
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibIntS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BThSt	Biblische Theologische Studien
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*

3. For full details of rabbinic writings, see the first Bibliography.
4. For full details of reference works, see the first Bibliography.

BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
CAD	Ignace I. Gelb *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CeB	The Century Bible
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
DG	J.C.L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Syntax*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (ed. E. Kautsch, revised and trans. A.E. Cowley)
HALAT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner *et al.* (eds.), *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HebStud	*Hebrew Studies*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HR	E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUB	*The Book of Jeremiah* (Hebrew University Bible Project)
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDBSup	K. Crim *et al.* (eds.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JB	*Jerusalem Bible*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JPSTC	The JPS Torah Commentary
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KBR	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner *et al., The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament in English* (trans. M.E.J. Richardson)
KEH	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum alten Testament
LASBF	*Liber Annuus. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*
LEH	J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*
LSJ	H.G. Liddell *et al., A Greek–English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement*
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NASB	*New American Standard Bible*
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	*New English Bible*
NEBAT	Die Neue Echter Bibel, Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung
NIDOTE	W. VanGemeren (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*
NIV	*Holy Bible: New International Version*
NJPSV	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* (New JPS Translation)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OTL	Old Testament Library
PCC	Patrologiæ cursus completus
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium
PrOT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
RB	*Revue Biblique*
REB	*Revised English Bible*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RHDF	*Revue historique de droit français et étranger*
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBBS	Soncino Books of the Bible (Series)
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMasS	SBL Masoretic Studies
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series

SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SOTI	Studies in Old Testament Interpretation
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
TBü	Theologische Bücherei
TDOT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TECC	Textos y estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros' de la Biblia Políglota Matritense
THBW	Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk: Die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments. Des Alten Testamentes
ThWAT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TWNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Background*

The discrepancies in length and internal order between the Greek and Hebrew versions of the book of Jeremiah have been the cause of speculation for at least 1,600 years, since Jerome first accused Septuagintal copyists of abbreviating their exemplar (Migne 1845: 680). Jerome's position was taken up again by Grabe and later by Graf,[1] but in the end it was the view variously championed by Eichhorn and Movers that prevailed: the Greek version of Jeremiah reflects a *Vorlage* both different from and earlier than M.[2] If the differences are seen as intentional, perhaps going back to two different versions prepared either by the prophet himself (so Eichhorn) or by Baruch,[3] then they are properly two recensions; if, however, the differences are seen as having accumulated by scribal glossing and the like over the course of transmission (so Movers),[4] then they are merely two different texts. The present study operates with the working hypothesis that M and G reflect different recensions (though without prejudging their authorship), a position strongly argued by Tov (1972a, and often since) and Goldman (1997: 164-69).[5]

The discovery at Qumran of the small fragments 4QJer^{b,d} (= 4Q71,

1. Grabe 1710: esp. 7-13; Graf 1862: xl-lvii. Spohn (1824: 1-21) put forward a variation in which the translator was responsible for the abridgement.

2. Eichhorn 1803: §§540-42; Movers 1837: §4 and *passim*.

3. Recently, Overholt 1968: 44-45; van Selms 1976.

4. Recently, Janzen 1973; Stipp 1994.

5. Cf. also Paterson 1984; Schenker 1991. Note that the term 'recension' as I use it simply means a literary edition, consciously fashioned out of an earlier edition (see Tov 1997: 197-99, 210). For more detailed reviews of the Greek–Hebrew debate, see Janzen 1973: 1-9; Soderlund 1985: 11-13.

72A),[6] with their apparent close resemblance to G and not M, has given great impetus to the view that LXXV was not an M-type text. But the debate is far from over. Objections to the prevailing view have been raised on several fronts. First, we cannot extrapolate from agreements between 4QJer^b and LXXV, so as to draw conclusions about what the rest of the Qumran scroll would have contained, unless we know just how the two witnesses are related. Different answers to that question suggest widely ranging degrees of agreement (say, 60–95 per cent).[7] Secondly, Althann argues that G has abbreviated in the poetic sections because it read them as if they were prose (1983: 306).[8] Thirdly, several have argued that, while M has often expanded, LXXV is also a revised text.[9] Fourthly, others have gone even further and argued that MT as a whole is a *textus difficilior*, more original than LXXV;[10] perhaps the strongest such argument is by Fischer (1997), who calls even the Qumran evidence into question.[11]

Beneath the surface of the argument lie several layers of problems, each of which must be properly negotiated before the scholar can hope to emerge in the right place. And it is these underlayers of the debate which concern this study. One might approach them via the following (over)simplified statement of the current majority position: 'The Greek text is both short and literal. Because it is literal, LXXV is short. Because LXXV is short, M is secondary.' The first of these statements raises two questions: (1) How does one decide what the Greek text is? and (2) What is meant by 'literal'? The two corresponding interests of the present study are Ziegler's critical edition of G and the translation technique of G. Once these questions have been considered, the separate and subsequent question of retroversion may be raised: (3) How and when is LXXV recoverable? Only then may the question of evaluation be asked: (4) How should one relate LXXV to M, and both to the 'orig-

6. See Brooke (1997: 184-87) for a convenient collection of relevant data.

7. Gooding 1976: 24.

8. Cf. Christensen 1990: 152.

9. E.g. Barthélemy 1986: 693; Rofé 1991, 1998; Reimer 1993: 153. This used to be a common position, e.g. Giesebrecht 1894: xix-xxxiv; Rudolph 1967: xxiii.

10. Van der Kooij 1994: 74-76; Fischer 1991, 1993; cf. Rabin 1968: 23; Margaliot 1980: 307.

11. Such views have naturally found criticism, much of it justified. Note especially Janzen 1989; Stipp 1994: 8-15; Goldman 1997: 169-82.

inal'?[12] I have chosen to consider these questions through a verse-by-verse textual commentary on a single chapter, Jeremiah 32.

1.2 *Scope*

Apart from the obvious practical constraints of time and space, the decision to examine just a single chapter has certain advantages. First, studies that range over the whole book, necessary though they are, can paint somewhat too uniform a picture by virtue of the fact that they pick and choose the best examples for proving their case. This is true in different ways of the two most important recent studies of their kind, Janzen (1973) and Stipp (1994). The present study seeks to provide a balance by examining a single unit thoroughly, thereby taking into account the data that are not spectacular enough to catch the eye of the generalist, but which, by virtue of their frequency and ubiquity, are integral to our understanding of how the translator operated and, consequently, of how his work may most accurately be retroverted.

Secondly, a major text-critical and textlinguistic study of Jeremiah 32 has recently been published (Migsch 1996: it is about 400 pages long) that follows a very different method at several points, thus providing a valuable triangulation point for the discussion of both individual problems and the results as a whole.

Thirdly, the discourse structure of Jeremiah 32 has been the object of considerable interest in the German-speaking world in recent years. First Hardmeier (1993, 1995) and then Oesch (1995) and Migsch (1996, 1997) have presented various solutions to perceived disjunctions in the chapter (*Kohärenzstörungen*), all of which revolve around the ideas of levels of communication in the text (*Kommunikationsebenen*) and the way they combine into large structures. It is against the background of these studies that Chapter 2 finds its focus.

Apart from the studies mentioned, only Bogaert (1995) is devoted specifically to the textual criticism of Jeremiah 32, though McKane's commentary (1986, 1996b) is a treasury of textual criticism; of older works, Streane (1896) stands out. Studies dealing with the chapter's structure[13] and redaction history[14] also have some relevance to the task

12. Cf. Driver 1889: 327.

13. E.g. Edlin 1985; Applegate 1986, 1997: 79-83; Janzen 1987; Brueggemann 1996.

14. E.g. Wanke 1989; Schmid 1996.

at hand, as do text-critical treatments of other parts of Jeremiah.[15]

1.3 *Method*

Issues of method relevant to the present study can conveniently be organized around the four questions posed at the end of §1.1.

1.3.1 *The Greek Text*

Like all eclectic editions, Ziegler's text is arrived at by combining external and internal considerations. The main textual witnesses are discussed in Ziegler (esp. pp. 41-98) and Soderlund (1985: 14-96). Soderlund concludes (p. 95):

> When the A text joins B–S against Q–V, that reading must be deemed virtually certain as representing the Old Greek, for in such a case A reinforces the unrevised tradition. By the same token, when B and Q groups agree against A, their readings are also to be preferred in the light of the mixed and idiosyncratic nature of A.

However, he continues (p. 96):

> Some of these corruptions in the B group may have had the effect of pushing it away from MT where originally it was closer to MT; likewise, a Q reading need not automatically be considered a revised one; it may simply perpetuate an ancient original reading lost to B.

The last citation illustrates the need for internal considerations in establishing G, and it is at this point, where exegesis comes to the fore, and where Ziegler himself acknowledges the provisional nature of his conclusions (Ziegler 1943: 113), that I enter into debate with him.

1.3.2 *Translation Technique*

It is often stated that G is a 'literal translation', but, as Barr has shown (1979), there are many ways to be 'literal', including segmentation, stereotyping, lexical choice, word order, transliteration, etymologizing and so on, and without some knowledge of a translator's idea of the 'literal', the process of retroverting will necessarily be haphazard. This is particularly true of qualitative variants, where it is often impossible to say whether an unusual lexical choice reflects a variant *Vorlage* without examining the translator's general habits (and not even then, in many cases).

15. Of recent monographs, note Reimer 1993; Goldman 1992.

In one sense, the decision by Janzen (1973) to consider only quantitative variants has avoided this problem, but it has also introduced a weakness into his thesis by excluding potentially decisive information about when the translator is willing to be interpretive (cf. Soderlund 1985: 194-95). Janzen's consideration of translation technique is cursory (pp. 88-91), and mostly a reaction to Giesebrecht's (1894) analysis. This defect has been addressed by arguably the most important text-critical monograph on Jeremiah since Janzen: that of H.-J. Stipp (1994). His study of translation technique (pp. 7-58) permits a far more nuanced approach to retroversion, which is able to recognize in the translator a measure of flexibility and interpretive freedom. However, even Stipp has painted somewhat too uniform a picture by virtue of the fact that he has sought out good examples from across the book to prove his case.

Several studies have attempted to quantify literalness as defined in various ways. Min (1977: 185-230), for example, measures the degree of lexical stereotyping in a sample passage.[16] Tov and Wright (1985: 185) measure a combination of factors, including the degree to which ב is rendered by ἐν and כי by ἐν, the choice of prepositions, the use of post-positive particles. Sollamo (1979: esp. 286-89) examines semi-prepositions (לפני, ביד, etc.). These studies arrive at differing results, suggesting that Jeremiah is variable in its literalness, depending on the criterion used; estimations of consistency range from over 90 per cent to under 60 per cent.

Translators' approaches to 'content' and 'grammatical' words often differ, so that the evaluation of grammatical variants, such as the addition or omission of conjunctions and the article, changes of number and voice, the representation of prepositions and pronouns, and so on, is very difficult, and often impossible (Tov 1997: 155). Yet in some cases, meaningful deductions about *Vorlagen* can be made. As part of his drive for 'complete induction', Margolis (1910: 310-11) envisaged the collection not only of every lexical equivalent, but also of every gram-

16. Min indicates for each lexical choice the frequency with which it occurs opposite the Hebrew word in question (i.e. whether exclusive, predominant, occasional or unique). Exclusively or predominantly stereotyped equivalents make up 91 per cent of the words of the sample passage in Jeremiah (p. 229). However, the constant potential for a variant *Vorlage* adds uncertainty to Min's results. It could be that a rare equivalent is actually not an equivalent at all, but a variant. And if the translator were to permit even occasional lexical homogenization, then there could be false equivalences from the exclusive and predominant groups too.

matical equivalent, with a view to distinguishing between translator and *Vorlage* as consistently as possible.[17] On the other hand, Min (1977: 151) tacitly and unjustifiably assumes that every surplus καὶ and article originated with G. By contrast, the approach I have adopted includes the examination of grammatical variants with the aim of establishing what, if anything, can be known about their *Vorlagen*.

The analysis of translation technique as performed in this study is largely inductive, conducted on a case-by-case basis, with general conclusions drawn in the final chapter. Since my primary interest is the relationship of M and G, I focus on equivalents that are unusual and could potentially reflect textual variants. I make no pretence at producing an exhaustive study of translation technique per se. I begin with the assumption that qualitative variants are particularly important for an assessment of translation technique, and I therefore collect them into a separate section. Of course, the issue of variant *Vorlagen* is more acute here, and so literary considerations often play a significant part in decision-making. And because conclusions about the treatment of a particular variant may affect the degree to which one is prepared to reconstruct variant *Vorlagen* in general, there is a sense of recursiveness and constant self-correction about the process.

1.3.3 *Retroversion*

Concerning the task of retroversion, there was a time (especially in the last century) when firm lines were drawn between two opposing positions: the detection of a deviant *Vorlage* behind almost every apparent Greek variant, over against the detection of exegetical renditions or damaged exemplars behind almost every such variant (Goshen-Gottstein 1963: 136-37). Mediating positions have since become common, but Goshen-Gottstein claims that they 'are not the outcome of any clear results achieved by strict method and built on definable criteria. Rather they are personal compromises according to temperament, belief, or traditional background only thinly disguised by rationalization' (p. 137). Despite the advances made since 1963 in our understanding of translation technique, syntax criticism, computer-assisted statistical analysis and so on, Goshen-Gottstein's stricture remains true for the simple reason that there is not enough evidence for certainty in the majority of

17. Adair, for one, has taken up this challenge (1994: 116), concluding from a study of 1 Sam. 3 that the conjunctions ו and כי (though not other grammatical elements) are rendered with absolute fidelity. Cf. Kutscher 1974: 414-29.

cases. Either we must be more modest in our aims than the reconstruction of an *Urtext,* or we must work much harder at 'complete induction' than critics have been wont to do, and combine its results with appropriate epistemic humility.

The greatest weakness of Migsch's (1996) work in Jeremiah 32 is its tendency to see *Vorlage* differences behind most variants to a greater extent than anyone since Workman (1889). Many of Migsch's retroversions are questionable at best, and arise from tacit assumptions about the translator's approach which are demonstrably inadequate. At the other extreme, Hardmeier (1993: 69-70) assumes that all the crucial variants for textlinguistic purposes are innovations by the translator.

1.3.4 *Evaluation*

Concerning the task of evaluation, Tov says, 'While some objective aspects are involved in the *retroversion* of variants, their *evaluation* is completely subjective' (1997: 217). One reason for this is the unreliability in OT criticism of those traditional text-critical 'rules' which were established for the New Testament and the Classics (Tov 1997: 217-32).[18] This applies in particular to the preference for the *lectio brevior* and *lectio difficilior.*[19] Tov, then, allows common sense to be the main guide in locating 'the most contextually appropriate reading'. Within these limitations, Tov shares the optimism of Paul de Lagarde (1863), attempting to recover something as close to an *Urtext* as possible.

It is no coincidence that the United Bible Societies' Hebrew Old Testament Text Project, whose work is represented by Barthélemy (1986), and which is reluctant to eliminate the variety seen in Hebrew MSS produced before 70 CE, is more positive about both the separation of textual criticism from exegesis and the value of text-critical 'rules'.[20] For the more modest goal which this approach entails, namely the

18. Of course, many before Tov have expressed similar reservations, e.g. Davidson 1856: 383.

19. Cf. Polak 1998: 341.

20. The integrity thereby bestowed upon early pluriformity is reminiscent of Kahle's theory of Septuagint origins, which postulated a convergence of multiple translations into a central tradition (e.g. Kahle 1959: 235-37). On the legacy of de Lagarde and Kahle, see Sæbø 1998: 37-41. A recent statement of 'rules' can be found in Barthélemy (n.d.: ix-xvii); cf. also *Biblia Hebraica Quinta: Fasciculus extra seriem,* xi.

recovery of texts from the fourth–third centuries rather than a single *Urtext* from the sixth, is in principle attainable with less recourse to literary argument (cf. Tov 1997: 3; Sanders 1995: 21).

Nevertheless, subjective literary arguments are by no means eliminated, as Sanders is well aware, and he offers the following advice (1991: 211):

> we found that attention to the fuller context where the difficult text appeared often indicated the viability and appropriateness of the MT reading over against the so-called variants... It became clear to the committee that...exegesis should follow and not preceed [*sic*] the basic text-critical exercise.

The Comité has been criticized for its bias towards the MT (Barr 1986), but if such a late stage of the text is their goal, then, in Jeremiah at least, a belief in two recensions ought to limit the degree to which G is used to correct M: in many cases, a change away from LXXV was doubtless intended by the recensor, and to undo it is a literary-critical act. But this raises a further methodological problem.

Given that G does indeed reflect a *Vorlage* distinct from M, and that this *Vorlage* is a distinct recension, and not simply a text less encumbered with scribal accretions, then we have textual witnesses to the book's literary history.[21] Is the evaluation of these witnesses the job of the textual critic or the redaction critic?[22] Goldman (1992: 2) believes that the differences between M and G cannot be analysed using textual criticism alone (cf. Bogaert 1981a: 222), and he derives a method from redaction criticism for deciding questions of priority that is centred around cohesion, compositional traits and clues about motivation (pp. 3-5).[23] What prevents this from being pure redaction criticism, of course, is the physical evidence of two texts, which lends itself to a text-critical approach. McKane rightly begins his investigation of the book's genesis from this point ('there is no firmer method than this and none which is so disciplined by objective control'), but he acknowledges that to press behind the stage of the text attested in M and G is 'a more

21. A point emphasised by Tov (e.g. 1972a, 1981, 1985).

22. Cf. Becking (1994: 164): 'The question of the superiority of one text over the other, consequently, is of a literary-critical and redaction-critical nature.'

23. Schmid (1996) provides a traditional redaction criticism of Jeremiah that only comes to the recensions of M and LXXV at the end.

chancy procedure', whose results 'rest on nothing more than my judgement and critical acumen' (1986: li).[24]

Equally 'chancy' is the reconstruction of the *dynamic* element of the M–LXXV relationship: do we have different stages of a constantly changing text, like two stills from a motion picture,[25] or two survivors from a limited number of discrete recensions (Schmid 1996), perhaps the only two 'final versions' ever to have existed (cf. Lundbom 1986, 1997: 25-27)? In a word, the existence of two recensions of Jeremiah does not unlock the literary history of the book, but attests only to the existence of a literary history.

This study does not concern itself with the move from text to prophet, and shuns the 'chancy procedure' of higher criticism, but at the same time acknowledges the arbitrariness of this division, since the evaluation of variants is itself subjective, and the tools used are not always very different. On the other hand, my self-imposed restriction does exclude exegetical decisions based on purely hypothetical forms of words and stages of the text. It also reduces the influence of the literary-critical theories that so often control exegesis, when ideally they should emerge from it.[26]

The implications of this debate for the present study are threefold. First, and in general, it is important to be careful about the way literary and exegetical considerations are used in text-critical decision-making. Thus, although I have not followed Sanders in reserving all exegesis until the end, I have endeavoured to create a logical separation between the textual and the literary, distinguishing, for example, between the preference for a reading because it is short and the preference for a reading because it fits the context better, and acknowledging the subjectivity of the latter judgment. The reason that exegesis has not been reserved is because without exegesis there is no evaluation. As often as

24. Greenberg disapproves of this further step (1983: 18): 'Even a cursory perusal of modern scholarly Bible commentaries will attest to this gap in the amount of rewriting, reshaping, and reordering of text that every commentator feels is necessary for bringing the biblical writing up to his standards.'

25. Stipp 1991a, 1994; Levin 1985; McKane 1986.

26. A good example of prior commitments to conflicting theories producing conflicting exegesis of the same data is found in McKane's debate with Weippert (McKane 1986: 457). Even grammatical decisions can be driven by higher criticism, e.g. the question whether Jer. 32.37 contains a *futurum instans* (Harrison 1973: 143; van Selms 1974: 99) or a simple present that assumes the exile to have begun (McKane 1996b: 849-50; Migsch 1996: 95-96).

not, the decision that a reading is difficult is an exegetical one, and the subsequent evaluation of whether it is difficult and therefore primary, or so difficult that it must be secondary, is unavoidably subjective.

Secondly, and in general, we should be much less disposed to judge readings as impossibly difficult than was once the vogue. Given our imperfect knowledge of biblical Hebrew (a product of the small size of the body of surviving literature and the lack of native speakers), it seems to me more responsible to give MT the benefit of the doubt in questionable cases, and all the more so when it is a question of style. Recent studies of Hebrew syntax, and especially attempts to describe its textlinguistic structure, have led their authors to an increasing acceptance of textual features—discontinuities, repetitions and the like—hitherto treated with suspicion.[27] Throughout the present study, I have endeavoured to combine traditional morpho-syntactic analysis with the 'form-to-function' approach to the Hebrew verb taken by such textlinguists as Talstra and Niccacci, and incorporated into Gibson's edition of Davidson's *Syntax*;[28] I have avoided the more intricate classifications of Longacre and his school out of a desire to keep analysis as simple as possible.[29] Thus I have been content to analyse text-types as either discourse or narrative, without further subdivision.

Third, and in particular, Chapter 2 is devoted to a textlinguistic study of Jeremiah, with the aim of providing a solid exegetical background to the textual criticism that follows. It is broadly based, covering the whole book, but narrowly focused upon a single feature: markers of direct speech. For these markers hold the key to the relationship between sections, especially in Jeremiah 32–45, and often govern relationships within sections as well. Some of the most difficult text-critical problems in Jeremiah 32 require decisions about the macrostructure of the discourse; beyond this, some feel for what is 'normal' and what is 'difficult' about Jeremianic prose is vital for textual judgments.

27. See, for example, Niccacci, 13-14; Migsch 1996: 95-96.

28. Talstra 1978, 1982, 1997; Niccacci; DG. These linguists draw in turn on Schneider's *Grammatik*, and share their form-to-function method with Richter and his school: see Richter's *Grundlagen* (Richter), and the contributions by the editors in Gross (1991). A brief overview of the field is presented by van der Merwe (1994).

29. Longacre 1989. Though I have not attempted to establish degrees of narrative prominence (or 'salience', or 'predication-types') beyond 'foreground' and 'background', the graded approach of Longacre at this point is of considerable potential value.

1.4 *Conclusions Foreshadowed*

A close textual and literary study of Jeremiah 32 suggests that the translator has played a modest but significant part in shaping his material to communicate its message in a manner he judged to be accurate and effective. His *Vorlage,* along with M, shows signs of secondary revision, and the shape of each of these two recensions is very similar. The most remarkable feature of LXXV is the degree to which it has been damaged by haplography, which contributes as much to the difference between the texts as do the M pluses. Finally, M priority, though unlikely, cannot be absolutely ruled out, since while LXXV is the *textus brevior,* M is the *textus difficilior,* and further investigation of this conclusion is required in order to establish its significance.

1.5 *Arrangement of the Chapters*

The treatment of Jeremiah 32 is divided between Chapters 3–6, and each chapter is divided into six sections. First comes a list of all Greek–Hebrew variants treated, listed in the order of their appearance in the Bible;[30] secondly, there is a brief discussion of the text of M that considers versional evidence other than G. The Greek text is usually kept out of the discussion on the assumption that its differences are recensional, not textual, though sometimes a recensional variant is dealt with at the end of the section for the sake of convenience. Thirdly, controversial or doubtful inner-Greek readings are examined. Fourthly and fifthly, quantitative variants (pluses and minuses) and qualitative variants are examined.[31] Sixthly, variants which generate more extended discussion have been gathered at the end, once again for convenience.

All cross-references are to section numbers, marked with the siglum §, or to notes within sections. There is an index of section numbers in numerical order at the end of the book. Finally, the complete text of Jeremiah 32[39], in parallel Hebrew and Greek columns, is displayed in the Appendix, with the aim of providing for the reader a convenient ready reference as he or she follows the argument.

30. In cases where I take exception to Ziegler's reconstruction of G, these lists reflect my own conclusions.

31. This division is slightly loose, since the classification of a variant is sometimes debatable.

Chapter Two

The Boundaries of Jeremianic Discourse

2.1 *Markers of Direct Speech: Problems*

Jeremiah 32 is structured by formulas that introduce speech. The following discussion distinguishes between three types of particular relevance:

הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה [לאמר]	*WGF*	(*Wortgeschehensformel*)[1]
ויהי דבר יהוה אלי [אל ירמיהו] לאמר	*WEF*	(*Wortereignisformel*)[2]
כה אמר יהוה	*BtF*	(*Botenformel*)

The chief divisions of Jeremiah 32 scarcely need proving: the *WGF* of v. 1 is common throughout the book and marks boundaries in the text (Neumann 1973: 206-207), and the *WEF*s of vv. 6, 26 plainly introduce fresh departures within Jeremiah 32 itself:[3] following an explanation of the circumstances (vv. 1b-5), they introduce the first person report and associated prayer (vv. 7-25), and a collection of divine oracles that relate back to the prayer and report (vv. 27-44). Yet neither the way the *BtF* structures discourse nor the relationship between the three boundary formulas is easy to establish. As Meier notes, markers of divine discourse in Jeremiah are 'the most varied, unpredictable, and, quite simply, chaotic of any book in the Hebrew Bible' (1992: 258). The following examination of the use of the primary discourse markers in Jeremiah

1. The term comes from Neumann (1973), but where he creates a subdivision of the class *WGF* for the expression אשר היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, the two are here grouped together, and without doing violence to Neumann's conclusions.

2. I use *WEF* to mean *Wortereignisformel* in recognition of its frequent connection with a date (Zimmerli 1969: 89); it could equally signify *Wortempfangsformel* (Reventlow 1961), for the abbreviation is used here without implying any particular theory of a prophetic 'theology of the word' or of the mode of its reception. See further Neumann 1973: 177 n. 1.

3. Cf. Neumann 1973: 175-81.

proceeds in the light of theories of embedded discourse and levels of communication on the one hand, and theories of the prophetic oracle and communication events on the other.

The idea of embedded discourse in Jeremiah is best approached through the work of Hardmeier (1993, 1995). Hardmeier moves from clause-level to text-level syntax by means of the idea of 'horizons of expectation' (*Erwartungshorizonten*) which are generated by the text at every level, and which are modified, verified or falsified as the text continues (1993: 53). On the macrosyntactic level, there are two groups of signals that steer the text from one horizon to the next. The first is the group of main clause conjunctions, such as לכן, כי, ועתה, etc. (p. 55), together with the two important signals of continuity, namely pronominalization and the syndetic joining of clauses with waw. Thus, discontinuity is marked by renominalizing and asyndesis (pp. 56-60).[4] The second is the group of (a) markers of time, place and *dramatis personae* which set the horizons of a scene (pp. 60-61), with (b) the embedding of discourse (*Redeeinbettung*). Embedded discourse (i.e. direct speech) radically interrupts the narrative flow, and brings the original scene of the discourse into the narrative present. Each inserted discourse opens a new horizon of expectation with a new web of 'I-now-here' coordinates (personal, temporal and local deixis), which constitutes an independent textual world and thus has a basic structuring effect (pp. 61-62). The defining of units is usually simple, with the *verbum dicendi* אמר (or שאל, ענה, etc.) being the key signal (Hardmeier 1990: 83). That which the speaker/author communicates to his hearers/readers is on the first level of communication. All discourses inserted into this level are embedded statements on level two (or higher, since multiple embeddings are common in biblical discourse).[5]

Such an approach is useful for analysing difficult transitions within the text, though it is no panacea, and neither is it as objective as might appear.[6] Jeremiah 32 raises two problems of structure in particular

4. Hardmeier coins the expression 'distinuity signals' (*Distinuitätssignale*), and concedes that the extent of their reach must be decided by context and common sense.

5. Stipp (1992: 49-50, 350-66) applies a similar method of textual analysis to Jeremiah. Multiple embedding is common outside Jeremiah as well, e.g. Exod. 7.14-18, which displays confusing changes of speaker unmarked by verbs of speaking; there are many other examples (cf. Alonso Schökel 1988: 172).

6. Hardmeier acknowledges this in his second article (1995: 192-95), in which

which need to be addressed, and I shall discuss each in turn.[7]

2.1.1 *The Problem of Jeremiah 32.6a*

Although v. 1 leads the reader to expect that Jeremiah will be spoken about in the third person, v. 6a introduces direct speech by Jeremiah in the first person, and this tension has traditionally been resolved textually[8] or diachronically.[9] Hardmeier's solution (1993: 64-65) is to read v. 6a as a continuation of the compound sentence begun in v. 2, which explains the circumstances of the word announced in v. 1:

> 32.1 The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord during the tenth year... ([2]at this time, the army was surrounding Jerusalem, and Jeremiah was imprisoned...[6]and Jeremiah said...[vv. 6b-25]); [26]and the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah: [27]"Behold..."

In other words, the *Erwartungshorizont* of the opening statement is not reached until v. 26, where the word from YHWH is finally given. In terms of communication levels, vv. 1-3a, 6a, 26 are on level one, and Zedekiah's speech in v. 3b and Jeremiah's speech in v. 6b begin embedded discourses on levels two and higher.

This is an attractive solution in many ways, but it results in an explanatory digression of unprecedented size, and a resulting analysis of the chapter as a whole as discourse (*Rede*) rather than narrative (vv. 6b-15 excepted). Further, it is hard to imagine that the author expected his readers to be able to 'hold their breath' for the duration of the narrative and prayer before successfully perceiving v. 26 to be the word announced in v. 1. One might perhaps argue that the new formula at

he proceeds to alter an element of his previous analysis. For appropriately cautious assessments of Hebrew textlinguistics, see van der Merwe (1997) and Joosten (1997).

7. A recent monograph (van Wieringen 1998) uses a very similar method to produce a 'communication analysis' of Isa. 6–12, drawing on the work of Weinrich and Talstra.

8. Thus in v. 6, Ewald (1840: 161) is influenced by the easier reading of G; so also Duhm 1901: 261; Cornill 1905: 360.

9. Wanke (1989: 267) suggests that the original formula in v. 6 was ויהי דבר יהוה אלי, and that the addition ויאמר ירמיהו was a later alteration to provide a redactional link between the original first-person report of vv. 6b-14 and the subsequently added third-person historical introduction. But see Migsch (1996: 95-96) for comments on the necessity of working harder at explaining apparent incoherence textlinguistically before resorting to complex diachronic theories.

v. 26 is resumptive of a macrosyntactic *casus pendens*, and that strictly speaking vv. 1-6a have no resolution at all. Hardmeier provides a diachronic explanation for the size of the insertion,[10] but an examination of other similar passages in Jeremiah suggests a different solution, as I shall argue.

2.1.2 *The Problem of the Formula* כה אמר יהוה

One of the factors that makes the assigning of statements to particular levels of communication a subjective process is the need to decide who is speaking at any given point. This is usually a problem associated with the poetry of Jeremiah,[11] but it can raise its head in prose as well, and particularly with the *BtF* כה אמר יהוה.[12] In Jeremiah 32, the *BtF*s of vv. 14, 15 are obviously spoken by Jeremiah. But the *BtF*s of vv. 28, 36, 42 are preceded by the *WEF* of v. 26, opening up the further possibility that their speaker could be God (the subject of v. 26) or the narrator (the speaker of v. 26).

By and large, commentators have assumed that vv. 26-44 are a divine speech, and the unexpected *BtF* in v. 28 suggests to them that vv. 28-35 are a late insertion.[13] Hardmeier (1993: 65-66) likewise felt it improbable that YHWH would speak of himself in the third person in the *BtF* of v. 28, but he drew different conclusions: these *BtF*s are to be read as statements by the final author of the text (the 'narrator'). Thus, with לכן (v. 28a), ועתה לכן (v. 36) and כי (v. 42), the final author left behind the preceding narrative report and entered into an explanatory discourse with his addressees. This is supported by the 2.pl. אשר אתם אמרים of vv. 36, 43, and suggests that the narrative of the field purchase is being reapplied by the final author directly to a new audience. In brief, vv. 26-44 are a discourse spoken by the narrator.

10. An older account (vv. 6b-15, as defined by *communis opinio*) was worked into the final composition, albeit with some difficulty (1995: 198).

11. Cf. Polk's discussion of Jer. 10.17-20; 14.1–15.4; 8.4–9.25 (1984: 58-126).

12. Although the term *Botenformel* is commonly used to indicate a specific speaker and set of circumstances surrounding the speech (e.g. the distinction made by Migsch 1996: 127), I use it simply as an abbreviation for a form of words.

13. Note Duhm's sarcastic comment (1901: 268). Many others treat vv. 28-35 as late, e.g. Elliott-Binns 1919: 250; Holladay 1989: 207; Brueggemann 1996: 24 n. 29. Even though he accepts Hardmeier's judgment about vv. 28, 36, 42, Schmid argues on other grounds that vv. 26-44 arose by a succession of additions (1996: 99 n. 224).

The first dissenting voice is that of Oesch (1995), who maintains that we need not understand every occurrence of כה אמר יהוה as the introduction to a messenger speech, but that it can also be used as a simple citation formula.[14] Oesch still reads the chapter as a discourse (vv. 27-44) with a superscript (v. 1a) and statement of circumstance (vv. 2-25), but takes the *BtF*s of vv. 28, 36, 42 to be self-citations by YHWH, introducing words that he had spoken earlier.[15] He thereby assigns all of vv. 28-44 to level two of communication. The level one *WEF* in v. 26 reveals a 'fictitious narrator', who has YHWH explain his past deeds, proclaim his future promise, and apply these words to the field purchase narrative, all with a group of 'fictitious addressees' in mind.[16] Hardmeier (1995: 197 n. 26) has come to a similar position, reading v. 28 as a discourse on level two spoken by YHWH and directed to Jeremiah, the wording of which the prophet has geared to the forum of the audience or readership.

The final dissenting voice is that of Migsch (1996). He objects to Oesch's solution on two main grounds. First, if 32.2-25 is a narrative introduction, then v. 26 should really be read as a narrative clause announcing the answer to the prayer, and this makes it hard to maintain that the chapter is basically structured as a discourse (p. 148). Secondly, given that a citation must consist of words previously spoken (which Migsch agrees it must), the formulas of vv. 36, 42 cannot be citations, since they introduce new material (p. 148); they must be messenger formulas (Migsch evidently uses *Botenformel* in the traditional sense), which by definition cannot be spoken by YHWH (cf. pp. 25-26).

Migsch (1996: 23-28) therefore stands much closer to Hardmeier (1993), except that he takes vv. 6a and 26 to be discourse addressed by the pericope author directly to his readers, not narrative, and he promotes v. 43a to level one (a discourse clause of the pericope author).[17]

14. Oesch 1995: 218-19. At this point he draws on Meier (1992: 277-98), who has shown convincingly that כה אמר יהוה is not a messenger formula (though sometimes used by messengers), but rather a simple citation formula used very often in works biblical and extra-biblical of the sixth century and later.

15. This view finds support from Meier, who places the tense of the *BtF* in the past: 'a citation of another's words which have already been spoken' (1992: 291, cf. 290 n. 4).

16. The 'fiktive Erzähler' and 'fiktive Adressaten' are text-internal categories: cf. Kahrmann, Reiss and Schluchter 1991: 43-53.

17. The main reason for this is his reluctance to have each occurrence of the addressees' objection (vv. 36, 43) on a different level of communication.

Finally, he resists classifying the *BtF*s as messenger formulas uttered by the pericope author, but takes them to be simple discourse clauses in which the author tells his readers what YHWH had said (see his diagrams on pp. 28-29).

All these analyses contain assumptions about the *BtF* that are open to question, and we proceed now to examine from a discourse perspective the three formulas that concern us.

2.2 *Markers of Direct Speech: Analysis*

2.2.1 *Definitions*

The major section marker הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה (i.e. the *WGF*) occurs ten times in the book,[18] with two further instances lacking מאת יהוה,[19] and four similar verses of the superscript type, that is, lacking a main verb.[20] Five cases of אשר היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו share elements of both *WGF* and *WEF*, and should not be considered a pure *WGF* form.[21] The *WGF* proper is widely held to indicate the redactional unity of the text that follows it.[22]

The *WEF* ויהי דבר יהוה אלי [אל ירמיהו] לאמר occurs some 23 times in Jeremiah.[23] Our interest is in the way it follows on from, and leads on

18. <u>7.1</u>; <u>11.1</u>; <u>18.1</u>; 21.1; <u>30.1</u>; 32.1; 34.<u>1</u>, 8; <u>35.1</u>; 40:1. The underlined references end with לאמר.

19. 25.1; 44.1.

20. 46.13; 50.1 (הדבר אשר דִּבֶּר יהוה); 45.1; 51.59 (הדבר אשר דִּבֶּר/צִוָּה ירמיהו).

21. 1.2 (which uses אליו, not ירמיהו); 14.1; 46.1; 47.1; 49.34. Neumann (1973: 172) considers these a subdivision of the *WGF*; Parunak (1994: 516 n. 12) treats all but 1.2 as *WEF*s. The issue is not clear-cut. Parunak's view accords with the analysis of GKC (§138e n. 2) that אשר is here used absolutely and thus introduces a true sentence ('it came as the word of the Lord...'). Despite the presence of the *qatal* form היה, which creates a formal similarity to the *WGF*, the fact that, with GKC, this form does not function as a superscript (except in the case of 1.2) suggests that Parunak's view is correct. On the other hand, none of these formulas ends with לאמר, as other *WEF*s do. Most translations (e.g. NASB, NRSV, NJPSV, JB) render the expression as a superscript; NEB, *Lutherbibel* are exceptions. (G appears to vacillate: cf. 14.1—a sentence; 49.34[25.14]—a superscript. It lacks many of the formulas.)

22. Seidl 1979: 47; cf. also Neumann 1973: 210-11; Bozak 1991: 18.

23. 1.4, 11, 13; 2.1; 13.3, 8; 16.1; 18.5; 24.4; 28.12; 29.30; 32.6, 26; 33.1, 19, 23; 34.12; 35.12; 36.27; 37.6; 39.15 [tr.]; 42.7; 43.8. Except for 42.7, where the following narrative clause makes it inappropriate, every occurrence ends with לאמר. I exclude 25.3, where Jeremiah uses the form of words to refer to a *WEF* rather than to pronounce one.

to, other formulas, especially the *WGF* and *BtF*. Despite the valuable contributions of Neumann (1973) and Parunak (1994), the discourse perspective which interests us warrants further comment.

The *BtF* כה אמר יהוה occurs 155 times in Jeremiah, and several times stands at or near the head of a unit, introducing the 'dispatch'.

The *'dispatch'* is a term used by Parunak (1994: 495-96), and means everything that God says to Jeremiah during the committal but before the actual oracle is communicated; it usually consists of instructions to go and to speak, hence the name.[24]

In this section, we examine the use of the three formulas in units of text governed by a *WGF*, as well as several accounts of symbolic acts and visions that do not fall into this category.[25]

2.2.2 *The* Botenformel *in Jeremiah*

2.2.2.1 *Jeremiah 7.1.* This might appear to be the 'default' unit opening: *WGF* + לאמר + direct speech of YHWH (v. 2).[26] Yet no *WGF* introduces a simple divine oracle, and, indeed, v. 2 is not the oracle itself but the 'dispatch'. The oracle proper is introduced by the *BtF* of v. 3:[27]

	4	3	2	1	
7.1				הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר	Narrator
2			עמד בשער בית יהוה...ואמרת		YHWH
		שמעו דבר יהוה...			'Jeremiah'
3		כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל			
3b-15	היטיבו דרכיכם...				'"YHWH"'

24. Vater (1980) has analysed patterns of committal and delivery from a form-critical perspective; her results have been adapted to Jeremiah by Applegate (1986: 365-87). Overholt (1982) provides an anthropological approach to the same phenomenon.

25. Especially 13.1-11; 16.1-13; 19.1-15; 24.1-10. Some of these are introduced by a *WEF*, but I shall not comment on the particular function of the *WEF* at the start of a major section beyond saying that it can obviously govern a collection of smaller units (so Neumann 1973: 188-90). In particular, the reasons governing the choice of a given formula to open a given unit (e.g. 16.1; 18.1; 19.1) are left unexplored.

26. I note the presence of לאמר separately, since its omission is calculated (as I will show).

27. In all the schematic displays of text in this chapter, the text is arranged to reflect the degree of embedding of speech, with the first level of communication (the narrator/author) on the right and deeper levels progressively set in to the left (direct speech of the characters, citations by the characters and so on).

Three initial observations can be made. (1) The absence of most of vv. 1-2 from G results in a much simpler discourse structure in that form of the book.[28] Biddle (1996: 66 n. 41) suggests that 'Jer 7:1-2 MT exemplifies an overall trend in the MT edition of the book toward a consistent framing of the prophetic word, understood...as the word of YHWH'. Although this observation has text-critical implications,[29] our interest here will be in its discourse implications. What precisely is M doing when it makes God the speaker? How is this different from having Jeremiah as the speaker? (2) Though it is clear from v. 2 that God is speaking, it would be rash to draw that conclusion from v. 1 alone, as later examples show. However, לאמר only occurs when a word of YHWH follows straight on, whether spoken by YHWH or not.[30] (3) The way the *BtF* is used in v. 3 is most suggestive. When the oracle itself comes to be spoken, the *BtF* will be on Jeremiah's lips, but this is the commissioning, so that here YHWH is its speaker. This is the main circumstance—and it recurs often—when YHWH incontrovertibly utters the *BtF*, naming himself in the third person in the process. But in many cases it is very hard to say who is the speaker of a *BtF*. The next section of Jeremiah 7 provides further examples:

7.16-18	ואתה אל תתפלל...				'"YHWH"'
19	האתי הם מכעסים				
		נאם יהוה			??
	הלוא אתם למען בשת פניהם				
20		לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה			??
	הנה אפי וחמתי נתכת				

We have placed v. 16 on level four because although YHWH is addressing Jeremiah directly (which might suggest a level two statement like v. 2), it is clear from the contents of the address that it formed part of the temple sermon and that Jeremiah is here citing words YHWH had previously addressed to him. Of course, this assumes that ואמרת in v. 2

28. If M and G reflect two separate recensions of Jeremiah, then it is inappropriate in cases such as this to 'correct' one by the other as if a scribal error is to blame; each version should be assessed on its own literary merits.

29. The difficulty of the discourse structure in M could have led G to simplify it (so Rudolph 1967: 50), but in Jer. 11.1-3 the still more complex introduction is present in G as well.

30. Sometimes a *BtF* intervenes, sometimes a single noun clause.

is still in effect, governing the discourse at a distance of 15 verses; this possibility is supported by v. 27 ודברת אליהם את כל הדברים האלה.[31] The alternative (v. 16 on level two) leads into difficulties when it comes to the *BtF*. It could be placed on level one as a discourse clause addressed by the narrator directly to his readers, so that the speaker of vv. 20-26 is the narrator, and YHWH takes over again in v. 27. Alternatively, it could be the first direct speech by Jeremiah. But it is hard to conceive of any listener detecting a change of voice here. Far more likely is a level two position, so that the rest of the verse goes to level three as a self-citation of YHWH.[32] In short, the only viable readings of this section involve either Jeremiah or YHWH referring to themselves as if they were another person, and it is unclear from the text as to which is the right reading.

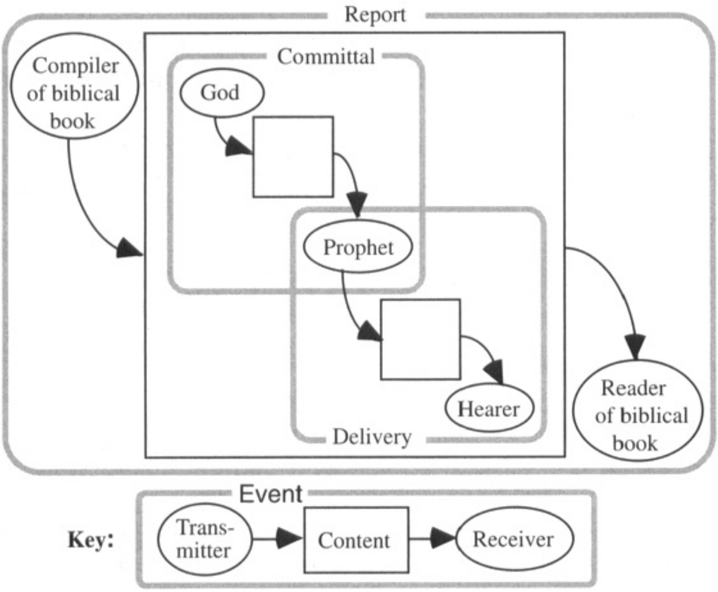
But at this point one begins to suspect that a desire for the 'right reading' is hampering good reading. For in this passage the voices of YHWH and Jeremiah are one, and it is meaningless (and fruitless) to try to distinguish them. Many are tempted to draw composition-historical conclusions from such 'messiness', and indeed this is by no means an illegitimate enterprise. Meier's comments about profligate use of the *BtF* in the Persian period (1992: 290), and observations of the macro-structuring rôle of *WGF*s, are valid and apposite. What is illegitimate, however, is to conclude from this that the composer threw in formulas willy-nilly to increase the *gravitas* of his text. Although modern scholars tend to work back from the final form of the text to the underlying historical events, the ancient author most probably operated in the other direction. That is, he began with a series of events, recorded or remembered, that he shaped and built together into a coherent message for his audience.[33] It would be rash to argue that, in his enthusiasm for impressive formulas, an author forgot that he had a story to tell.

31. On the interconnection of the various parts of Jer. 7, see Isbell and Jackson (1980).

32. Biddle (1996: 73-74) places the whole verse on level two, but not only does this confuse two 'speech worlds' from a discourse embedding point of view, as a consistent policy in Jeremianic discourse it leads to absurdities, as Parunak discovers when he treats 29.30-32 as if it were all on a level (1994: 506). His solution —to analyse such passages 'as though the formula were not there'—is less than satisfactory.

33. Even if we cast him in our mind as an ideologue rather than an historian, we should do him the justice of assuming him to be a competent literary artist. If

As it turns out, such an assumption about the writing process of these discourses is very fruitful, and has considerable explanatory power. This has been investigated by Parunak (1994), who distinguishes between words received, proclaimed and narrated, and explores the way in which these words combine in the text. The following diagram is taken, with minor changes, from Parunak (1994: 494). It plots the three communication events reflected in written prophetic oracles:



While the *WGF* and the *WEF* belong to the communication event of the report, the *BtF* is more difficult to place. It generally goes with the delivery of an oracle, and, if Hardmeier (1993) and Migsch (1996) are right, the compiler can address it to his readers in the report. But the main source of confusion about the speaker of the *BtF* lies in the fact that the 'dispatch' (a part of the committal) can be repeated as part of the delivery.

A good example of this is Jeremiah 21. The identities of the speakers are straightforward on one level, with occurrences of נאם יהוה and the *BtF* to be spoken by Zedekiah's envoys. However, in vv. 3, 8 and 11 Jeremiah prefaces the oracle proper with a 'dispatch' plus a *BtF*:

attempts to read him this way fail, then the theory of the piecemeal compositor will be so much the stronger.

> Thus you [envoys] shall say to [recipient's name]: "Thus says YHWH, '[oracle]'."

How much of this speech is a repetition of words given in the committal? It looks as if the 'word from YHWH' that Jeremiah here relays consisted of at least *BtF* plus oracle. One could argue that the *BtF* is a parenthetical addition by Jeremiah, but the weight of evidence would be against it. In particular, note the common opening formula in the Mari letters, 'To my lord say...', and the Amarna letters, 'To the king, my lord, [and other titles], say...' (*ANET*, 482-92). One would expect that the person reading the letter to its recipient began from the beginning.

2.2.2.2 *Jeremiah 11.1.* Initially this unit presents the same features as Jeremiah 7: *WGF* + לאמר + divine speech (v. 2), followed by a *BtF* within the 'dispatch' ('you shall say to them...').[34]

11.1	הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר	<u>Narrator</u>
2	שמעו את דברי...	
3	ואמרת אליהם	YHWH
	כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל	'Jeremiah'
3b-5a	ארור האיש...	'"YHWH"'
5b	ואען ואמר	<u>Jeremiah</u>
	אמן יהוה	'Jeremiah'

The point of departure is v. 5b, where Jeremiah suddenly becomes the narrator, using a first-person *wayyiqtol* verb of speaking. This is no mistake, for we find identical shifts from a *WGF* that speaks of Jeremiah in the third person to a narrative clause in which Jeremiah himself speaks in 18.1-5; 35.1-3 (first-person *wayyiqtol*) and 21.1-3; 32.1-6; 51.59-61 (third-person *wayyiqtol*). We must assume that this was perfectly acceptable to the author,[35] which leaves us with two initial ques-

34. Verse 2 is extremely difficult, with the plural שמעו followed by the plural ודברתם (so *HUB*; *BHS* has ודברתם with Cod. Leningradensis, against most MSS), suggesting perhaps that Jeremiah is not yet the addressee, or that this is a citation from another context that has been 'trimmed' to combine several events into one (as in Jer. 45), or that vv. 1-2 are a long—and enigmatic—title. But, unless one's corrections include excising ואמרת אליהם from v. 3 (e.g. McKane 1996b: 236-37), the problem does not affect this discussion.

35. To assert that a new formula has overwritten a more harmonious original simply pushes the problem of literary competence on to another stage. Further, the

tions: (1) Given that *wayyiqtol* is a continuation form in this context (Niccacci, §146), where is the beginning of the narrative that the *wayyiqtol* verbs carry forward? (2) What reading of the passage is able to circumvent the impression of discontinuity made by the shift in person? We shall return to these questions presently, but in the meantime we maintain our focus on the *BtF*.

11.6	ויאמר יהוה אלי	Jeremiah
	קרא את כל הדברים האלה...לאמר	'YHWH'
6b-8	שמעו את דברי...	'"Jeremiah"'
9	ויאמר יהוה אלי	Jeremiah
	נמצא קשר...	'YHWH'
11	לכן כה אמר יהוה	??
11-13	הנני מביא...	
14-17	ואתה אל תתפלל...	'YHWH'

Verse 5b turns the passage into a dialogue in which Jeremiah reports the Lord's words as well as his own (vv. 6a, 9a), citing him in first-person speech. Level one is the narration level, level two the first-person narrative level, levels three and four the citation/proclamation levels. In the level four citation of v. 6b, Jeremiah is instructed to relay the covenant curse to the people. If one wishes to avoid having YHWH cite himself in the *BtF* of v. 11, then the choices are (a) to have the narrator addressing his readers in direct discourse, though such an unprepared, isolated shift in the text seems highly unlikely; (b) to imagine that Jeremiah as narrator is switching from an account of a dialogue with YHWH in the past to a direct proclamation of words from YHWH in the present, in line with the change of subject-matter here. This destroys any sense of narrative unity in the passage's framework, and is made unlikely by v. 14, where YHWH is still the speaker and addresses Jeremiah.[36] It is best, therefore, (c) to see YHWH as the speaker of the *BtF* in v. 11. That is, the 'dispatch' may be repeated in the delivery. As

charge of incompetence levelled by Biddle (1996: 74)—'the redactor-tradent finds it difficult to maintain the literary conceit required by the third person reference to Jeremiah'—looks dubious in the light of such passages as Jer. 27 where a far more complex scheme of embedding is carried through flawlessly.

36. Compare the approach of Holladay (1986: 348), in which he assumes that every *BtF*, together with each occurrence of ויאמר יהוה אלי, begins a new word of Jeremiah. This formal approach does not treat the passage as a connected discourse.

v. 3 shows, the *BtF* itself is a divinely given word and not just a preface invented by the prophet. Finally, it is worth noting the increasing economy of God's instructions about how his words are to be cited:

> in v. 3, 'Say to them, "Thus says YHWH: [oracle]"';
> in v. 6, 'Proclaim all these words: "[oracle]"' (*BtF* omitted);
> in v. 9, '"[oracle]"' (instruction to speak and *BtF* omitted).

That is, there seems to be an implicit 'Say!' before v. 9b.[37] Similarly, it is not unreasonable to expect the reader to recognize the voice of YHWH in v. 11, despite the omission of the instruction to speak.

There is an interesting variation in G, where vv. 7-8 are largely omitted, but the final καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαν | ולא עשו (v. 8) is present. This has the effect of continuing the dialogue and introducing a third party:

> 11.6 And YHWH said to me, 'read these words in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying: "Hear the words of this covenant and do them."' [8]But they did not. [9]And YHWH said to me, 'A conspiracy was found...'

This makes v. 8 in G a level two statement by Jeremiah, and v. 9 is no longer simply a section divider. Van Selms (1976: 109), assuming that G reflects an earlier edition of the book, observes that M has telescoped the discussion into a single divine revelation, 'eliminating as much as possible the words of humans' (p. 103).[38] He has found the same technique at work in M 17.23, and in M and G 42.9-22; 44; 45.

2.2.2.3 *Jeremiah 25.1*. This is another example of the blurring of prophetic and divine voices. Verse 2 unambiguously identifies Jeremiah as the speaker, and the appearance of אלי in v. 3 confirms it. But אלי in v. 7 refers to YHWH, and, though the speaker remains Jeremiah, the voice is God's. This first-person voice is so well established by v. 13 that Jeremiah can refer to himself by name. The citation of vv. 4-6 works the same way: in v. 5 the prophets cite YHWH, referring to him in the third person, but in v. 6 YHWH speaks directly (ולא תכעיסו אותי).

37. The omission of a command to speak puts the *BtF* of v. 9 on level two, instead of level three as in v. 3, thus introducing a certain lack of symmetry into the passage.

38. Cf. Biddle's similar observations, albeit leading to different conclusions (1996: 121). The same sort of process may lie behind 11.2. However, Stipp (1994: 60-62) shows that parablepsis in LXXV must be considered.

The blurring continues through vv. 15-38 (attached to vv. 1-14 only in M), so that what begins as a first-person report of Jeremiah turns, without warning, into a divine speech (v. 27). Yet there is no *Kohärenzstörung* here; YHWH was speaking before, only in quotation marks. The sudden absence of Jeremiah's citing voice should perhaps be seen as a device for rhetorical intensification. This does not mean, however, that Jeremiah has ceased to play an active part: unless he had spoken the words, they would not have been heard. Though vv. 27 and 30 lack the introduction כה אמר יהוה אלי, it is to be understood, so that both divine and prophetic voices speak as one. Thus Jeremiah effectively addresses himself in v. 27 (אמרת אליהם). Since the entire oracle in vv. 30-38 is presented as Jeremiah heard it in the committal, we find that YHWH (the speaker) refers to himself in the third person, uttering a *BtF* in v. 32.

2.2.2.4 *Jeremiah 45.1.*

1	הדבר אשר דבר ירמיהו הנביא אל ברוך...	Narrator
2	כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל עליך ברוך	Jeremiah
3	אמרת	'YHWH'
	אוי נא לי...	'"Baruch"'
4	כה תאמר אליו	'YHWH'
	כה אמר יהוה	'"Jeremiah"'
	הנה אשר בניתי אני הרס...	'"'YHWH'"'

It is natural to take Jeremiah as the speaker of v. 2, given דבר ירמיהו in v. 1. The words he cites in v. 3 are from YHWH to Baruch. In a disconcerting switch (v. 4), Jeremiah is now being spoken to, and Baruch is no longer addressed directly but spoken about. Nevertheless, the following *BtF* is spoken by Jeremiah and introduces words from YHWH directly to Baruch, just as before. That is, the *BtF*s in vv. 2 and 4 are exactly analogous.

The fact that the *BtF*s are on different levels of communication points us to the explanation for the incongruity in v. 4. Clearly there is a skipped layer of embedded speech in v. 2, or an extra embedding in v. 4. In other words, Jeremiah has reported more of the committal in v. 4. If one reconstructs the committal of the first divine word, it is clear that YHWH must have informed Jeremiah that the following word was for Baruch: 'Say to Baruch, *BtF*, You said, Woe is me!' Presumably an element was added in v. 4 or omitted in v. 2 so as to keep the balance between Baruch's complaint and YHWH's answer:

'Tell Baruch / you said / woe // tell Baruch / YHWH said / Behold.'

Just as in the previous example (25.27), rhetorical considerations have resulted in flexibility about what elements from the committal are included in the delivery. Literary shaping has resulted not only in the addition of superscripts, but in the choice of what to include by way of introduction to each oracle, and finally, in the degree to which what were originally separate events are combined together into one event whose protagonist is YHWH.

Van Selms (1976) calls this 'telescoped discussion', and points out that in Jeremiah 45 there are several events reflected: perhaps it began with a dictation session involving oracles of judgment, which led to a lament by way of reaction from Baruch (אמרת, v. 3), an intercession by Jeremiah and an answer from YHWH in two parts—a repetition of the complaint (a common feature in the exchange of messages) and a command to the messenger.

Finally, it is noteworthy that in v. 4a Jeremiah, the speaker of the chapter, is referring to himself from another's viewpoint in analogous fashion to the way in which the *BtF* can occur on the lips of God.

2.2.3 *The* Botenformel *and the* Wortereignisformel

The *WEF* + לאמר is always continued by YHWH speech (23 times), and in 7 of this group a *BtF* intervenes.[39] Is YHWH also the speaker of these *BtF*s? The presence of לאמר indicates speech (hence the final *WEF*, 42.7, lacks both לאמר and following speech), but does not determine the speaker. There is one feature of Jeremiah, however, which might suggest that YHWH does indeed utter the *BtF* in these places, and that is the way that the 'dispatch' is recorded. *WEF*s which introduce a 'dispatch' conform to the following two types:

a. *WEF* + 'dispatch' + 'Say, *BtF*' + [oracle] (2.1; 28.12; 29.30; 39.15; 43.8);
b. *WEF* + *BtF* + 'dispatch' + 'Say, [oracle]' (35.12; 37.6).

Obviously enough, 'Say' (by which I mean a command to speak) is an inevitable part of a 'dispatch'. But it is not so obvious that every 'dispatch' preceded directly by a *WEF* should include a *BtF* after 'Say' (type a), unless a *BtF* has already been used after the *WEF* (type b).

39. Of the group of disputable *WEF*s, a *BtF* follows 47.1; 49.34, but not 14.1; 46.1.

This pattern of occurrence gives the impression that every time Jeremiah was commissioned, he was instructed to say, 'Thus says the Lord', and hence that whenever an oracle begins with or contains a simple 'Thus says the Lord', the citation starts with the *BtF* and does not come after it.[40] We take the examples of type b to reflect a stylistic variation, in line with stylistic variations already observed.

Examining 'dispatches' unconnected with a *WEF* confirms this interpretation: of 28 further 'dispatches' that I identified, only 5 lack a *BtF*. Of these, 11.6 derives one from its context; 3.12 introduces a poem (and one, moreover, punctuated by a fourfold נאם יהוה); 16.11 is immediately followed by נאם יהוה.[41] Only 10.11 (Aramaic) and 14.17 have no signal of divine speech.[42] Of particular interest is the 'embedded dispatch' in 27.1-5: the 'dispatch' of vv. 2-4a introduces a divine word that is itself a 'dispatch', and there is just one *BtF* in all: 'Say to the envoys, "*BtF*: 'Say to your masters: "[oracle]."'"' The first 'dispatch' is of type a, the embedded 'dispatch' is of type b, with the *BtF* doing double duty.

This does not mean that, every time a *BtF* is encountered, YHWH should be thought of as its speaker. On the contrary, Jeremiah is obviously the speaker in many cases, for example in major units that simply begin with a *BtF* (like 19.1; 22.1), and which should be taken as examples of דברי ירמיהו (1.1). What it does mean is—firstly—that Jeremiah is not speaking *de novo* when he utters a *BtF*; and—secondly—that a belief that כה אמר יהוה expresses the past tense rather than acting as a performative perfect (e.g. Meier 1992: 290 n. 4) does not support the conclusion that YHWH can only use it of words that he has already spoken in the past (*pace* Oesch 1995: 219; Migsch 1996: 293); rather, he uses the past tense because, when the words come to be proclaimed, they will by definition have been previously spoken.

40. Cf. the letter to the exiles that begins not at 29.5, but with the *BtF* of v. 4 (Pardee *et al.* 1982: 177).

41. Jer. 32.6; 35.2 are dispatches without an oracle; 17.20; 19.3; 21.11; 22.2 have שמע דבר יהוה in the place of a *BtF* (the phrase is addressed to royalty in these verses), followed in the next verse by a *BtF*. The remaining cases are 7.3; 8.4; 11.3; 13.12, 13; 15.2; 18.11 [G>]; 19.11; 21.4, 8; 25.27, 28; 26.4; 27.4; 29.24; 34.2; 36.29.

42. Holladay (1986: 436-37) argues that the dispatches in 13.12 and 14.17 refer to the preceding words, which would explain the lack of *BtF* in the latter case.

2.2.4 *Summary: the* Botenformel *in Jeremiah*

(1) It is probably right to say that the *BtF* is paragraph initial in Jeremiah,[43] and there are other indications that its inclusion, albeit frequent, is not random. For example, the positioning of the *BtF* (there is usually just one) in the accounts of symbolic acts and visions immediately precedes the interpretation. This is true of 13.9; 16.3; 18.11; 19.11; 24.5, 8; 32.14-15.[44]

(2) The *BtF* is remarkably stable between M and G. In only 7 out of 149 cases is an isolated *BtF* present in M but lacking in G.[45] When compared with the 57 cases of epithets added to a *BtF* in M but not in G, the conservatism of M with the *BtF* itself is remarkable. M has an increased frequency of use of the *BtF* of just 4.7 per cent.[46]

(3) The most significant difference between M and G for this discussion is the occasional variation of discourse structure (e.g. 7.1-2; 11.7-8), so that in M YHWH is more often the speaker and there are fewer characters involved. But this is only a difference of degree (Biddle 1996: 67 n. 41), and even in passages common to M and G there has been much simplification and 'telescoping' of events into one so that the divine voice is ever-present (e.g. chs. 11; 45).

(4) Despite its great frequency compared with earlier books, the *BtF* in Jeremiah is not gratuitously inserted, but is an important part of the book's own theology of the prophetic word. Jeremiah 26 is a case in point:

43. Despite Meier's caveat (1992: 310); see Parunak 1994: 517 n. 28.

44. Jer. 27–28 is exceptional in that its subject-matter concerns interpretation and counter-interpretation, and the concept of grounding the prophecy's authority in the *BtF* is central. Cf. 27.4, 16; 28.2, 11, 13-14.

45. See Stipp (1995: 72-77), who lists 155 cases, but omits 34.2 *BtF* 2°. Of 15 *BtF*s absent in G, 7 are part of an omitted whole or half verse, and we have left these 7 verses out of consideration, since it is the affinity of G for the *BtF* in particular that we are measuring. Balancing the remaining 8 M pluses is 21.7, נאם יהוה | οὕτως λέγει κύριος. Ziegler deletes οὕτως against universal MS attestation. Cf. my comments on his treatment of the G plus in 32.28; also, Soderlund 1985: 213.

46. Note by way of contrast the common incipit formula, 'the prophet said', added in Tg Prophets—and not always as a late liturgical aid (Gordon 1994: 79-80).

26.1	בראשית ממלכות יהויקים בן יאשיהו מלך יהודה	Circumstances
	היה הדבר הזה מאת יהוה לאמר	*WEF* (variant)
2	כה אמר יהוה	*BtF*
2b-3	עמד בחצר בית יהוה ודברת ...	'dispatch'
4	ואמרת אליהם	'Say to them'
	כה אמר יהוה	*BtF*
4b-6	אם לא תשמעו אלי...	Oracle

The second *BtF* is uttered by YHWH, but the unusual extra *BtF* before the 'dispatch' should be given to Jeremiah (see §2.2.6.1). It constitutes an implicit command to include the 'dispatch' with the rest of the message. The stress on the divine origin of Jeremiah's words in v. 3 makes the 'dispatch' thematically important. Verse 7 begins with a narrative *wayyiqtol*, and without an indication to the contrary a reader would assume that it is continuing the whole direct speech from v. 2. Syntactically, there is no way to determine just where 'these words' (v. 7) began.

The divine origin of Jeremiah's words then becomes the pivot of the following discourse: v. 9, 'Why have you prophesied in the name of YHWH?'; v. 12, 'it is YHWH who sent me to prophesy'; v. 16, 'he has spoken to us in the name of YHWH'; v. 18, 'Micah prophesied and said, "thus says YHWH..."'; v. 20, 'and there was another man prophesying in the name of YHWH'. Seen in this light, the extra *BtF* in v. 2 is a calculated opening gambit.

Of course, this is part of the section of Jeremiah that deals specifically with the question of false prophecy, but the very existence of such a section makes the prominence of the *BtF* throughout Jeremiah understandable. And the specific concerns of Jeremiah 26 are also reflected elsewhere; for example, Jeremiah's speech in 44.11 (*BtF* + oracle) is described by its hearers in 44.16 as הדבר אשר דברת אלינו בשם יהוה.

(5) Jeremiah 26.1-4 is a 'maximal' case, with every possible element from the committal present in the report. But the author was not bound to formulas and has varied not only the precise formulas used (hence Meier's comment about the 'chaotic' markers of discourse in Jeremiah [1992: 258]), but the amount of preliminary information that he includes —that is, from the 'dispatch'—in any given report. The reasons behind this require further exploration, but would seem on occasion to be stylistic (ch. 25), on occasion thematic (ch. 26), and on occasion theological (especially in the tendency to make YHWH the speaker, which can involve telescoped discussion).

(6) That YHWH can and does say כה אמר יהוה and so refer to himself in the third person is evident from the frequent inclusion of a *BtF* in a 'dispatch', but it can be seen outside this context as well. The clearest case is 14.13-18, a dialogue between Jeremiah and YHWH narrated by the prophet, in which the use of the first person leaves the speaker beyond doubt: לכן כה אמר יהוה על הנבאים הנבאים <u>בשמי</u> <u>ואני</u> לא שלחתים (v. 15).[47]

(7) Helpful as the analysis is of *communication levels* in the discourse (embedded speech), it can lead to an inappropriate diligence in attempting to pinpoint just who is speaking at every moment. The idea of *communication events* is a valuable corrective, as it shows that the overlap of the word of YHWH and the word of Jeremiah in the text reflects the overlap of the two separate contexts in which such a word was originally given: first, from YHWH to Jeremiah (the committal); then, from Jeremiah to his audience (the delivery).[48] On occasions, the blurring of speaker is matched by the blurring of event created by telescoped discussion. Of course, there are actually three events that overlap in the text, when we include the report itself. Of interest in this regard is 43.1, where we read that Jeremiah finished telling them 'all the words of YHWH their God, [i.e.] all these words'.[49] There is a strong emphasis on the identity of the words spoken then to Jeremiah and the words now written down; we may note also that Baruch is mentioned in v. 3.

(8) Two particular difficulties can be avoided with awareness of the relationship between 'dispatch', committal and delivery. First, the assumption that if YHWH says כה אמר יהוה he must be referring to words previously stated becomes unnecessary; secondly, and as a result of this, there is no need to attribute *BtF*s to the narrator in an attempt to avoid *Kohärenzstörungen*. In other words, the reclassification of much material as discourse rather than narrative is open to question.[50] I shall take up this point when we return to Jeremiah 32.

47. Holladay excises this phrase on the grounds that it 'arouse[s] uneasiness' (1986: 436). He finds a source for it in v. 14.

48. On the other hand, Parunak's approach flounders on occasion for want of the sort of analytical precision that awareness of speech embedding provides (e.g. 1994: 506).

49. The double sense is clear despite problems with G and potential dittography, etc.: see McKane (1996b: 1050-51).

50. Migsch has done this for chs. 32 (Migsch 1996) and 35 (Migsch 1997), but

2.2.5 *The* Wortgeschehensformel *in Jeremiah*

Our study of 11.1-5 raised questions to which we now turn. Their answer most probably lies in the element of the discourse that is distinctive to Jeremiah, namely the *WGF*.[51]

The classic *WGF*, הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה, can be distinguished from its variant forms in that it is associated with a 'dispatch' and not simply the body of an oracle,[52] although like them it is often followed by לאמר.[53] When it is not so followed, the reason is a long circumstantial statement, after which there is generally a new formula before the 'dispatch' itself. On these grounds the passages introduced by *WGF*s can be divided into two groups according to the order, in each passage, of the following elements (not all represented every time):

Group A: *WGF* + circumstances + divine word + narrative.
Group B: *WGF* + circumstances + narrative + divine word.

A	*WGF*	circs.	לאמר	*BtF*	divine word	narrative (*wayyiqtol*)
7.1	*WGF*	—	לאמר	—	D: Stand...say, *HWY*	—
11.1	*WGF*	—	לאמר	—	D: Hear...say, *BtF*	v. 5...and I answered
18.1	*WGF*	—	לאמר	—	D: Go down...	v. 3...and I went down
30.1	*WGF*	—	לאמר	*BtF*	D: Write in a book...	—
34.1	*WGF*	NC	לאמר	*BtF*	D: Go...and say, *BtF*	v. 6...and he spoke
35.1	*WGF*	NC	לאמר	—	D: Go...bring...	v. 3...and I took
25.1	Var.	NC+	לאמר	—	For 23 years...	—
44.1	Var.	NC	לאמר	*BtF*	You yourselves have seen...	v. 15...they answered Jeremiah
45.1	Var.	NC+	לאמר	*BtF*	You said...	—

Var. = variant *WGF;* NC = noun clause; D = 'dispatch'; *HWY* = 'Hear the word of YHWH' (שמעו דבר יהוה)

the same reasoning would require much more material than this to be read as hortatory.

51. Meier combines the *WGF* and *WEF*, resulting in the misleading statement, 'These phrases are familiar from the book of Ezekiel' (1992: 264). In fact, the *WGF* as found in 7.1 etc. is entirely unique to Jeremiah, and the form as found in 1.22 etc. appears only in 1 Kgs 18.31 and the reference to Jeremiah in Dan. 9.2.

52. There are 11 variant forms, as described above (nn. 18-20). Of all the variants where the word is from YHWH, only 46.13; 50.1 have anything like a dispatch, but it is poetic.

53. Of the variants, 25.1; 44.1; 45.1 are followed by לאמר, and 25.1; 45.1; 46.13; 50.1; 51.59 have the *verbum dicendi* דבר. The mixed forms (1.2 etc.) show no such affinity for verbs of speaking. לאמר is always found with *WEF*s, which can

Every *WGF* is continued by a 'dispatch'; only the variants without מאת יהוה lack one. The 'dispatches' introducing speech are followed by a *BtF*, and five times a narrative follows. The only *WGF* followed by more than a single circumstantial clause is the variant in 25.1-2 which has two noun clauses and a relative clause containing a resumptive (and supplementary) דבר ירמיהו.

B	*WGF*	circumstances		narrative (*wayyiqtol*)	*WEF*	divine word
21.1	*WGF*	Envoys' speech	ES	and Jeremiah said...	—	v. 3: D + *BtF* + oracle
32.1	*WGF*	Jeremiah imprisoned by Zedekiah	ES	and Jeremiah said...	*WEF*	v. 6: D (oracle v. 14)
34.8	*WGF*	Zedekiah made a covenant	NC	and they obeyed...	*WEF*	v. 13: *BtF* + oracle
40.1	*WGF*	Nebuzaradan and Jeremiah	NC	and he took him...	—	v. 2b: oracle?
51.59	Var.	Seraiah to Babylon	NC	and Jeremiah wrote...	—	v. 61: D + prayer

ES = Embedded speech; NC = Noun clause; D = 'dispatch'

The only atypical *WGF* included here is 51.59, which is a word from Jeremiah, not YHWH, and has different vocabulary, but it is a superscript and not a sentence, and so functions in the same way. Unlike group A, לאמר never precedes the divine word, since the *WGF* leads into a narrative and not a speech. The circumstantial element is more extensive, with 51.59 being the only case of a lone noun clause (34.8 has three; 40.1 two). The narrative element is usually short: either one (21.3; 32.6) or two (40.1; 51.59) *wayyiqtol* clauses linked to the statement of circumstance. In 34.8 there are six such verbs. The *WEF* is atypical in both occurrences, but is nevertheless a significant speech marker that forces the question of whether the *WGF* governs what follows the *WEF*.

2.2.6 *The* Wortgeschehensformel, *Group A*

The main difficulty in this group is explaining how a narrative follows on from a *WGF*, and, with this in mind, I shall comment briefly on 34.1; 11.1; 18.1; 35.1.

also introduce a dispatch; it would be a mistake, therefore, to label these as '*WEF*-like' features of the *WGF*.

2.2.6.1 *Jeremiah 34.1.*

34.1	הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה	WGF
	נבוכדראצר מלך בבל...נלחמים על ירושלם...לאמר	
2	כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל	*BtF*
	הלך ואמרת אל צדקיהו...ואמרת אליו	'dispatch'
	כה אמר יהוה	*BtF*
2b-3	הנני נתן את העיר...	Oracle
4	אך שמע דבר יהוה...	
	כה אמר יהוה עליך	*BtF*
4b-5	לא תמות בחרב...	Oracle
6	וידבר ירמיהו הנביא...את כל הדברים האלה	*wayyiqtol*

Verse 2 contains two *BtF*s. The first one implies that the 'dispatch' is an important part of the delivery.[54] Despite our preparedness to see YHWH as the speaker of *BtF*s, we must take Jeremiah for the speaker of the first *BtF* here, or succumb to an infinite regression of nested citations during the committal. It seems unlikely that the author imagined God to have spoken to Jeremiah with the words, 'Say, "Thus says YHWH, 'Say to Zedekiah, "Thus says YHWH, '[oracle].'"'"' This supposition can be supported as follows: (1) verse 6 refers to Jeremiah as the speaker of כל הדברים האלה, and, given the major break at v. 8, האלה must refer to what precedes; (2) the *BtF* that follows 44.1 is presented in retrospect (v. 15) as a speech of Jeremiah; (3) other similar cases point to the same conclusion.

A 'dispatch' itself can be spoken either by YHWH (36.27-31) or Jeremiah—whether in first-person narratives (e.g. 15.2; 18.11 and probably 25.27-28: cf. 25.15) or third-person narratives presented as dialogue (e.g. 21.3). In none of these examples is the 'dispatch' preceded by a *BtF*. Of the major units that begin with a 'dispatch', three times a *BtF* precedes, and so stands as the introductory formula. In 17.19 Jeremiah is obviously the speaker (אלי); 19.1 and 22.2 are unclear.[55] Elsewhere the 'dispatch' stands alone at the head of the unit (8.4; 13.12, 13; cf. 29.24), so that the speaker is ill-defined, but a consistent approach takes every unit-initial 'dispatch' as spoken by YHWH, with—in some

54. This might be because in the earlier parallel passage (32.1-5) it was Zedekiah who had done the speaking, and a contrast is being made (in the sequence of the text at least).

55. The fact that 19.14 speaks of Jeremiah in the third person is no more a problem than it is in 34.6.

cases—an introductory *BtF* by Jeremiah. The closest parallel to 34.2 is 26.2, where, however, the speaker's identity is unclear. Fortunately, the next chapter is quite similar, sharing the same idiosyncratic opening formula (27.1) and the same sequence of *BtF* + 'dispatch' + *BtF* + oracle, and here the speaker of the first *BtF* is clearly Jeremiah (אלי).[56] By analogy with 27.2, then, we take the *BtF* in 26.2 to be spoken by Jeremiah. Note that in 26.7 Jeremiah is referred to as the speaker of הדברים האלה.

If we are correct in seeing Jeremiah as the speaker of 34.2-5, two implications follow. First, neither the *WGF* nor the following לאמר determine the speaker. The antecedent of לאמר is simply הדבר, and, though we hear the voice of God in v. 2, the speaker's identity is one of the *Erwartungshorizonten* that awaits verification or falsification (Hardmeier 1993: 53). The speaker could be YHWH, or Jeremiah, or the narrator, and it is only at v. 6 that the identity suggested by the initial *BtF* is confirmed.

Secondly, there is a sudden switch of speaker in v. 6, from Jeremiah to narrator. This sort of switch has been noted and rejected by commentators in other passages, especially ch. 35; it is a distinctive feature of the book, to which we now turn.

2.2.6.2 *Jeremiah 11.1; 18.1; 35.1.* In Jeremiah 11 the first narrative clause is v. 5b, ואען ואמר אמן יהוה. It is closely linked to the covenant curse of v. 3, as shown by the parallel in Deut. 27.15-26. In Jeremiah 18 the first narrative clause is v. 3, and it too is linked closely to the preceding divine word, this time by verbal parallels:

18.1	הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר	*WGF*
2	קום וירדת בית היוצר ושמה אשמיעך את דברי	'YHWH'
3	וארד בית היוצר...	Jeremiah

The same is true of Jeremiah 35, where the narrative begins in v. 3 with a chain of four *wayyiqtol* verbs that balance the four imperatives of the divine word in v. 2:

56. The oracle in 27.4-11 begins with another 'embedded' dispatch, but this does not affect our argument. Note also 35.12; 37.6, where a *BtF* preceding the dispatch is spoken by YHWH, but where there is no *BtF* following. We have categorized these cases differently.

35.1	הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה...לאמר	*WGF*
2	הלך...ודברת...והבאותם...והשקית	'YHWH'
3-5	ואקח...ואבא...ואתן...ואמר אלהים	Jeremiah
5b	שתו יין	
6	ויאמרו	
6-11	לא נשתה יין...	
12	ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו לאמר	(G πρός με)

In each of these discourses we suggest that, since the narrative verbs clearly follow on from the preceding divine word, the divine word is spoken (cited) by Jeremiah. The open-endedness of the *WGF* means that this was always a possibility, and the appearance of Jeremiah as narrator associates him with the preceding anonymous voice. It is for this reason that we have continued the discourse on level two after the divine word, rather than returning to level one (the narrator).

Of course it is possible to imagine Jeremiah dictating the whole passage (or the author writing with this scenario in mind), including the title referring to himself in the third person, in which case we could safely place the *wayyiqtol* clauses on level one. There is, in fact, good precedent for ancient writers switching from third person to first person when writing about themselves. We find it in Hebrew letters of the seventh–sixth centuries BCE written on ostraca and excavated at Tel Arad. For example, Arad 16: 'Your brother Hananyahu sends greetings to Elyashib and to your household. I bless you by YHWH. And now, when I left... [first-person account continues].'[57]

The *WGF*, therefore, together with any circumstantial material before לאמר, seems to be related to what follows as an introductory title which does not constitute a grammatical antecedent. Migsch (1997: 317) considers that the third-person reference to Jeremiah in v. 1 and the first-person reference in v. 3 are syntactically incompatible, since there is no transitional clause such as 'and Jeremiah said', and he concludes that the redactor replaced an original *WEF* (pp. 319-20). But this begs the question whether such a stylized superscript is amenable to this type of analysis. Furthermore, the shift to the first person seen in chs. 11, 18 and 35 is matched by equally 'ungrammatical' shifts to the third person

57. Pardee *et al.* 1982: 48-49. Cf. Arad 21; 40. The text begins as follows:

אחך חנניהו שלח לשל
ם אלישב ולשלם ביתך בר
כתך ליהוה ועת כצאתי

in chs. 26 and 34, as well as in the 'group B' examples of the *WGF* (examined below).

Finally, we may observe that at 35.12 there is a shift back to third-person report by the narrator, and this should be seen as the continuation of the narrative framework that runs all the way from ch. 32. As far as this frame is concerned, Jeremiah 35 runs, 'The word which came to Jeremiah from YHWH: [a story is cited which Jeremiah had told]; and the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah: [sequelae of the story].'

2.2.7 *The* Wortgeschehensformel, *Group B*

In this group the narratives bear much the same relation to the *WGF* as do the narratives in group A; indeed, the circumstantial elements of the former group are often as substantial as the divine words of the latter. The real difference lies in the looser connection of *WGF* to divine word.

2.2.7.1 *Jeremiah 34.8.*

34.8	הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה	*WGF*
8b-9	אחרי כרת המלך צדקיהו ברית ...	NC (circs.)
10	וישמעו כל השרים...	Narr. (*wayyiqtol*)
10b-11	וישמעו וישלחו וישובו...	
	ויכבישום לעבדים ולשפחות	
12	ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר	*WEF?*
13	כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל	Oracle
13b-16	אנכי כרתי ברית...	
17	לכן כה אמר יהוה	
17-22	אתם לא שמעתם אלי...	

The first narrative clause (v. 10a) contains a verbatim repetition of much of v. 9, creating a strong link with the circumstantial clause and suggesting that v. 8b is the 'absolute beginning' of a narrative about Zedekiah's covenant, with the *WGF* a narrative-external superscript.[58] In this context, v. 12 is not a fresh beginning, but emerges from the preceding narrative, which thus forms the ground or circumstances of the following oracle.[59] The divine word is thus integrated within the nar-

58. Temporal clauses are the most common expressions used to set a chain of *wayyiqtol* clauses in motion (Waltke and O'Connor, §33.2.4); when a statement of circumstances opens a narrative, the subject comes first (DG, §80).

59. To quote Niccacci (§28), 'The textual function of *wayehi* is to introduce a new element into the main narrative thread so that that element becomes an integral and important part of the account.' Cf. also Neumann (1973: 190): in mid-position,

rative, and is not tied in any special way to the *WGF*. In this sense, the passage is similar to 40.1-5.

However, v. 12 is a strange formula, beginning like a *WEF* and ending like a *WGF*. It could be that weight has been added to it (מאת יהוה) to exaggerate its disruptiveness to the narrative and allow it a more explicitly resumptive function with respect to v. 1.[60] Certainly, the length of the narrative leading up to the word justifies a resumption. The only other example of a second formula before the divine word is 32.1-6, which is also the only other instance of a long break between *WGF* and oracle.[61] At any rate, 34.12 is a sentence, not a superscript, and so should be thought of as a variant *WEF*. The speaker of the following *BtF* is indeterminate.

The effect of so much narrative on level one is to bring several characters to prominence; here YHWH is not the only actor.

2.2.7.2 *Jeremiah 40.1.* This passage stretches the flexibility of the WGF further still, as the word is not only embedded in a narrative and lacking any resumptive introduction, but is spoken neither by Jeremiah, nor YHWH, nor the narrator.

Its structure is simple: *WGF* + NC (אחר + inf. cs.) + NC (ב + inf. cs.) + *wayyiqtol*, all on level one, make up the narrative beginning, which is briefly interrupted by direct speech on level two (vv. 2b-5a) before being taken up again on level one:

> 40.1 The word which came to Jeremiah from YHWH. After Nebuzaradan, the chief of the guards, had set him free at Ramah, where he had taken him..., [2]the chief of the guards took Jeremiah and said to him: 'YHWH your God threatened this place...' [5b]And the chief of the guards gave him provisions and goods and sent him away.

In this context the *WGF* seems to be a heading[62] that is designed to make us see (i.e. reflect the fact that Jeremiah saw) that Nebuzaradan's

the *WEF* brings to prominence an individual divine word within an overarching context of connected events.

60. מאת יהוה is unrepresented in G Pesh, and Janzen's assessment that we are dealing with a conflation here may well be right, though he is somewhat too confident about his conclusion (1973: 51).

61. 32.1b-5, compared with 21.1b-2; 40.1b-2a; 51.59b-61.

62. Cf. Stipp (1997: 186), who defines the *WGF* as an אשר-sentence without antecedent, 'that is, as an insubordinated relative clause which serves as a heading to what follows'. He renders it, 'How the word of YHWH came to...'

words to him were a word from YHWH. His words also include elements reminiscent of divine speech: יהוה אלהיך דבר (v. 2); ועתה הנה (v. 4). As in 34.8, the *WGF* announces that a word follows, but does not directly introduce it, as the absence of לאמר suggests.[63]

The supposition that the *WGF* must introduce a conventional oracle forces scholars into a wide variety of suggestions to explain the 'non-appearance' of the promised oracle here, but the range of continuations of the *WGF* in group B (not least, 32.7) should be sufficient to allay such doubts.[64]

2.2.8 *Summary: The* Wortgeschehensformel *in Jeremiah*

(1) The *WGF* is distinctive to Jeremiah and comes with or without לאמר, depending on whether it leads straight on to a divine word. In either form, it is normally associated with narrative.

(2) On the former occasions, the divine word always includes a 'dispatch', and the speaker is always Jeremiah (with the exception of 7.1).

(3) לאמר marks the end of an introductory title that does not constitute a grammatical antecedent to what follows.

(4) Despite the fact that the *WGF* refers to Jeremiah in the third person, it can govern, without any sense of syntactic tension, a discourse in which he speaks in the first person. Part of the background to this usage may lie in epistolary practices of the seventh–sixth centuries BCE as reflected in the Tel Arad letters, but external support is unnecessary, since the way the *WGF* minus לאמר is used shows how flexible it can be.

(5) Without לאמר, the *WGF* is tied only loosely to the divine word that follows, announcing its presence without directly introducing it. It need not stand over a conventional oracle, and we find sometimes an oblique oracle (in Nebuzaradan's mouth, ch. 40), or a 'dispatch' with no oracle immediately attached (ch. 32).

(6) Neither does the *WGF* without לאמר begin the narrative that follows it—it is simply a heading connected to a circumstantial clause that is itself the narrative's origin. Its flexibility allows it to head a narrative

63. If the formula had been displaced from 39.15, as Mowinckel claims (1914: 44), it would surely have contained לאמר. On *WGF* variants which lack לאמר, cf. §2.2.5.

64. McKane (1996b: 996-97, 1005-1006) provides a good survey; see also Holladay's elaborate reconstruction (1986: 281). Others, like Jones (1992: 467), have no difficulties with a divine word on Nebuzaradan's lips.

or a discourse, first- or third-person, while at the same time partaking in the book-wide framework that, in chs. 32–45, is a cohesive third-person narrative skeleton supporting the individual units within it.

(7) The material intervening between the *WGF* and the divine word is not extensive, except in 32.1-6 and 34.8-12. In these cases only, a *WEF* variant is inserted before the divine word with resumptive effect.

2.3 *The Macrosyntax of Jeremiah 32(M)*

As Hardmeier comments, before any attempt is made to recover a hypothetical *Urtext* behind two very different text forms, each must first be examined as to its coherence (1993: 70 n. 47). This enables a measure of control over text-critical decisions involving literary judgments. It is important to remember, however, that textlinguistic studies have largely ignored literature like Jeremiah 32, preferring to focus on the prose of Genesis to Kings. Simply to import the categories derived from such prose and apply them here seems inappropriate at times, as can be shown by asking what sort of writing we have in this chapter. The third-person framework of vv. 1, 6a and 26 and the associated *wayyiqtol* verbs suggest a narrative, but, as is usual in Jeremiah, the narrative itself is not much more than a skeleton that gives shape and cohesion to the intervening discourses. Even the narrative in vv. 7-15 is probably best described as a 'narrative discourse', since it is a first-person account.[65] This caveat is important in vv. 1-6a: have we an atypical exposition to a narrative? A small discourse? A long superscript? I am convinced that it can be read successfully as a narrative introduction (see n. 68), but that that the reader should allow the text to dictate its own rules to a certain extent, in view of its idiosyncratic genre. The present study of the *WGF* reflects this perspective. For a full display of Jeremiah 32 as an embedded discourse, see §2.5 below.

2.3.1 *Verses 1-6a, 26*

The *WGF* of v. 1 stands as a superscript over the whole of chs. 32–33 (cf. 33.1, שׁנית).[66] It is followed by the prelude to a narrative, consisting

65. Niccacci (§74) defines narrative discourse as a 'type of narrative in which the events are not reported in a detached way, as in a historian's account, but from the speaker's point of view'.

66. Applegate (1986: 121-62) argues that 34.1-7 functions as the conclusion to the unit begun by its parallel passage 32.1-5; be that as it may, the *WGF* at 34.1 ends

of two parallel temporal expressions (v. 1b) that lead on to a pair of noun clauses providing background information (v. 2).[67] The first noun clause retains the temporal perspective of v. 1, but the choice of a *w=x-qatal* construction in v. 2b shifts the linguistic perspective of the discourse to recovered information. Verse 3 continues to fill out the background, with retrospective *qatal* preceded by אשר (Niccacci, §92).[68] After the embedded speech subordinated by the relative clause of v. 3a, the narrative proper begins with v. 6a.[69] The subsequent phrase is best viewed as a summary. In form, this introduction matches 21.1-3; 34.8-12; 40.1-2; 51.59-61, showing that a progression from circumstantial clauses to narrative *wayyiqtol* is common after a *WGF*. A free (if somewhat A.A. Milnian) rendition might run:[70]

> 32.1 *In which the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah.*
> During the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign (it was Nebuchadnezzar's 18th year), [2]at the time when the army of Babylon was besieging Jerusalem, and Jeremiah had been confined to the palace guardhouse ([3]Zedekiah had put him there with the following words...), [6]Jeremiah said...

the dominion of the previous *WGF*. For an exploration of the way 32.1 and other temporal indicators function theologically within the book, see Hill (1999: 150-53).

67. These could be labelled 'comment' (Niccacci, §§38, 83); their focus is the army without and Jeremiah within, and their lack of a finite verb relegates them to the background.

68. Migsch (1996: 87-88) objects that vv. 2a, 2b, 6a do not flow as a narrative should, since progress from *w=subj.-ptc.* to *w=x-qatal* to *wayyiqtol* is not possible in this context: on the one hand, *w=x-qatal* cannot be analysed as sketching in the background at the start of a narrative, since v. 2b is not the beginning; on the other, it cannot be analysed as interrupting the progress of the narrative, since no *wayyiqtol* main clauses precede it. Yet there is at least one narrative that begins in just this way, namely 1 Sam. 3.1-2. Furthermore, I see no reason why a mid-narrative 'interruption' (e.g. 1 Sam. 28.15; 2 Sam. 3.22; 1 Chron. 21.20) cannot work as an 'aside' at the start of a narrative. Finally, the application of textlinguistic theories at this level is at present speculative and a poor base for such a far-reaching claim as Migsch's—Hardmeier, for example, has no difficulty seeing v. 2b as the first verb clause (inverted) in the narrative, and v. 2a as providing background for it (1993: 64). Again, the fact that the verb in question in v. 2 is היה opens up the possibility of analysing the clause as *w=x-היה-ptc.* (cf. Migsch 1996: 112). See §3.6.2.2.

69. נאם יהוה (v. 5) should be seen as 'a mark of focus at the level of the phrase or clause', rather than the end of a unit (Parunak 1994: 512). Cf. Meier (1992: 264): 'נאם יהוה punctuates God's words'.

70. See for example Milne 1926.

The fact that the next *WEF* (v. 26) continues this story rather than beginning a new one can only be ascertained by a comparison of the contents of each unit (cf. 35.12). Jeremiah 33.1, which introduces a unit less tightly bound to this story, compensates for the fact with an explicit statement of circumstances. On the other hand, Hardmeier's judgment that v. 6a is simply another circumstantial clause *en route* to the true terminus of the *WGF*, v. 26, cannot stand. ויאמר ירמיהו follows a *WGF* on other occasions, and a 'suitable' terminus—that is, a statement with דבר יהוה as subject and a third-person reference to Jeremiah—does not always exist. Cases in point are 21.1-11 and 34.1-7.

This, then, comprises level one of communication: vv. 1-3a, 6a, 26. It is the level of the 'extra-textual narrator', or author. Level two of communication is the level of intratextual narration, or direct speech by the characters: Zedekiah in v. 3bα; Jeremiah in vv. 6b-13, 16; YHWH in vv. 27-28a, 36a, 42a (he also says נאם יהוה in vv. 30, 44). Level three is the citation level, where the characters quote themselves or others, and it contains the *BtF*s of vv. 3, 14, 15, God's enigmatic speech in v. 7, Hanamel's speech in v. 8, Jeremiah's prayer (a self-citation), and the three answers of YHWH in vv. 28-35, 37-41, 42-44 (also self-citations, as I shall argue). Finally, level four, in the first half of ch. 32 at least, could be called the 'proclamation level', as it contains the embedded speeches that constitute the key words of the narrative: the prophecy against Zedekiah (vv. 3b-5), the announced word of Hanamel (v. 7), the divine words of vv. 14, 15, and the first and only reference to an actual command of God to buy the field (v. 25). The only other level four statement is the citation in v. 43b.[71]

2.3.2 *Verses 7-25*

Any comment on the field purchase narrative must begin with the unique combination of ויאמר ירמיהו and *WEF*, which often troubles scholars.[72]

71. Migsch (1996: 90, 133-37) is troubled by the fact that the two cited objections of vv. 36, 43 are on different levels, and he fixes the problem by promoting v. 43a to the same level as the *BtF*s, i.e. he makes it a new word from YHWH. But there is no reason why these citations, similar though they are, should not be on separate levels (compare the Hanamel citations of vv. 7, 8, and the unevennesses of ch. 45). Verse 43b is embedded within a section (note the preceding *w=qatal* in v. 43a) and v. 36 begins one. Further, v. 43b is an unexpected statement because of the substitution of 'land' for 'city', and this makes it more 'proclamatory', as well as linking it to the previous level four statement in v. 25.

72. E.g. Meier 1992: 265 n. 3. See notes to §2.1.1.

Each has its purpose, however. ויאמר ירמיהו effects a transition into first-person speech, which brings this narrative into line with the other symbolic acts (Schmid 1996: 89). Without ויאמר ירמיהו, this passage would find parallels in 11.1-5; 18.1-3; 35.1-3. Its combination with a *WEF* is simply a factor of the length of the narrative introduction, which requires a resumptive formula (34.8-12). In short, the combination is fortuitous. The truly unique element of Jeremiah 32 is the absence of an oracle after the 'dispatch' of v. 7, not to mention the truncated nature of the 'dispatch' itself, and it is the deferral of the oracle to vv. 14-15, the 'dispatch' conclusion in v. 25, and the triple use of vv. 3b-5 in vv. 24-25, 36, 43 that make the chapter distinctive.[73]

Although v. 16 continues the *wayyiqtol* chain begun in v. 8, it is set apart from vv. 1-15 by the temporal margin (אחרי תתי את ספר...). The unit is well circumscribed by virtue of the single speaker throughout, and is ended unambiguously by the *WEF* of v. 26. Note also the common use of אדני יהוה in vv. 17, 25. The connections with vv. 1-15 should not be minimized, however. The first and last verses of the unit have strong ties to what precedes, with the vocabulary of v. 16 distinctive of vv. 11-12 (and to some extent vv. 13-14),[74] and the vocabulary of v. 25 distinctive of vv. 9-10 (and to some extent vv. 7-8).[75] Thus the prayer's frame mirrors the rhetorical picture of vv. 6-15.

The major internal structural marker is הנה, which opens each of the sub-units vv. 16-23 and 24-25. Its third occurrence, in v. 24bβ, divides the second sub-unit almost exactly in half, both balancing הנה in v. 24a and heightening the sense of climax as befitting this, the crux of the chapter.

73. Cf. Applegate 1986: 172-73.

74. The distinctive phrases ספר המקנה and ברוך בן נריה also come together in v. 12. The fact that it is the giving of the title-deed to Baruch to which v. 16 refers and not the actions and words of vv. 14-15 suggests that Jeremiah's double action (converting the field into the book of the purchase, and transferring the book of the purchase to Baruch) is followed by Jeremiah's double word: first to Baruch in vv. 13-15 and then to YHWH in vv. 16-25. Verses 13 and 16 show similarities of construction, with their elements arranged in the order verb, object, circumstantial element, לאמר.

75. קנה לך השדה is the language of vv. 7b, 9, and בכסף והעד עדים comes from v. 10. Only by the presence of vv. 24-25 is it clear that this prayer comes out of, and relates back to, the situation related in vv. 6-15.

2.3.3 *Verses 27-44*

If we assume that the *BtF*s in vv. 28-44 follow the pattern of usage displayed in the rest of Jeremiah, then several conclusions follow. First and most importantly, there is nothing to prevent YHWH from being their speaker. Even if the questionable idea of the *BtF* as a messenger formula were correct, the appearance of the *BtF* on YHWH's lips would not equate to his acting as his own messenger, but rather would reflect the communication event of the 'dispatch', in which God's instructions include the specifying of the words to be used for indicating the oracle's divine origin; these self-citations, therefore, need not refer only to words already spoken earlier (*pace* Oesch 1995). And so we find that YHWH frequently speaks of himself in the third person (*pace* Hardmeier 1993) whenever he utters a *BtF* during a 'dispatch', to the extent that even when a 'dispatch' is absent, the *BtF* carries with it an implicit command to speak the following oracle. Further, if the *BtF*s of 32.27-44 can belong to YHWH, then the narrator need play no further part after v. 26, and the classification of vv. 26-44 (and thence the whole chapter) as discourse would not be demanded (*pace* Migsch 1996). This would turn on its head the 'null hypothesis' used by Migsch to prove that v. 26 is a discourse clause (1996: 148): it, like vv. 6-25, is narrative, as is the framework of the chapter as a whole.

None of this forces the conclusion that YHWH speaks the *BtF*s, but it does remove the main reasons for rejecting such a reading. The main reason for adopting it, apart from the fact that it is simpler (no change of speaker is required at v. 28), is that it is more economical. For there are many parallel cases in Jeremiah of *BtF*s that seem to be spoken by YHWH, and that require the sudden introduction of an outside speaker/ author in direct discourse with his audience to rectify the impression. Jeremiah 7.20; 11.11; 25.32; 34.13 are a few examples.[76]

The effect of taking YHWH for the speaker of all of vv. 28-44 is to isolate v. 27 on level two as his only direct speech; the *BtF*s carry an implicit command for Jeremiah to proclaim what follows, which in turn suggests that v. 27 is a word primarily intended for Jeremiah in response to his prayer. That vv. 28-44 are to be proclaimed is borne out by the plural אתם אמרים of vv. 36, 43.[77] Thus the doubts of both Jeremiah and his auditors are addressed by these oracles. In the last analysis, then, it is meaningless to attribute the *BtF*s exclusively to one speaker.

76. Cf. also Migsch's analysis of Jeremiah 35 (1997).

77. Which are therefore not so problematic as Migsch claims (1996: 89-90).

The major division is v. 36, as shown by ועתה and the expanded *BtF* (אלהי ישראל).[78] Verse 42 is resumptive of the sub-unit vv. 36-41. Indeed there is a close matching of form and content across the whole of vv. 36-44. This use of a resumptive phrase to hold two sections together is formally similar to vv. 1-5 + 6-15. There is also a corresponding shift of focus in each unit, from the city to the land (vv. 2-3 → 7; vv. 36 → 41-43). Where v. 43 looks back to v. 36, the main effect of v. 44 is to link back to vv. 1-15, and especially vv. 9-10, 15.

Verse 42, a protasis-apodosis construction, initiates the discourse of vv. 42-44. It matters little whether ונקנה (v. 43) is analysed as following on from the preceding relative clause or the whole of v. 42, so long as it is recognized that the discourse has already begun—*w=qatal* 'always comes first in the sentence but never occurs at the beginning of an independent narrative unit... It is a continuation form' (Niccacci, §57). Jeremiah 42.18 provides another example of כאשר...כי continued by *w=qatal*. This invalidates Migsch's argument (1996: 132-35) that a new section begins at v. 43, with a change of speaker from YHWH to pericope author.[79]

These observations form the basis of the structured display of the text of Jeremiah 32 in §2.5.

2.3.4 *Jeremiah 32 as a Telescoped Discussion*

To say anything about the implied audience of vv. 26-44 is difficult, as we are never told to whom Jeremiah was speaking in v. 6.[80] The text as

78. On עתה as a macrosyntactic device, see DG (§72 *Rem*. 4).

79. He reasons that because in v. 43 the definite השדה refers to an extra-textual entity, and there is a 2.pl. address, readers would have recognized that the pericope author was now speaking (to them). This allows him to avoid what for him is a significant problem, namely the fact that the cited objections of vv. 36, 43 are on different levels of discourse embedding. Our study of the *BtF* has shown this sort of asymmetry to be unexceptional, however (e.g. ch. 45).

80. Literary-critical solutions do not concern us here, and in any case they provide little help. An original positioning of 32:1-2*, 6-15 after 37.21 (Duhm 1901: 261; Bright 1965: 236; Seitz 1989: 245) offers no clue to the identity of the implied hearers of the narrative, and in any case has been strongly criticized (Stipp 1992: 140; Schmid 1996: 88-89; Migsch 1996: 375-86); much the same can be said of Hardmeier's theory of a narrative of Jeremiah's imprisonment and release ('G[efangenschaft und] B[efreiung] J[eremias]-Erzählung': Hardmeier 1990: 174-75; 1995), in reaction to which Migsch (1996: 372) suggests a collection of 'Jeremianic self-reports' from which the redactor selected. Carroll's treatment of this prob-

it stands (and thus, as its final creator intended), gives a time and place for the narrative (v. 2), and the narrative itself reflects the same setting (v. 12). The response of the addressees in v. 36 can be read against the same background (they seem to have believed Jeremiah's words in vv. 3b-5, 28-35), but the complaint of v. 43b is more enigmatic. Was it uttered and not reported? Has it been put into the listeners' mouths by YHWH/Jeremiah because it is implied by the former objection, or because they thought it, and their thought was divined? These questions are unanswerable, and the concept of 'telescoped discussion' is helpful at this point. It looks as if the author's desire to have YHWH say as much as possible has led to the elimination of much 'incidental' information and the collapsing together of a sequence of events. We might speculate that Jeremiah preached doom (vv. 3b-5), his hearers had little choice but to believe him (v. 36), he bought the field and uttered v. 15, the people objected (v. 43),[81] Jeremiah prayed (note the time margin in v. 16), and YHWH replied (vv. 26-44). Given that telescoped discussion can be identified elsewhere, the theory of a post-exilic narrator shaping a discourse to address the special situation of his contemporaries becomes unnecessary. The chapter's presentation of these events and words as occurring in the period defined by v. 2 has a distinctive integrity, no matter when it originated.[82]

2.4 *The Macrosyntax of Jeremiah 32[39] (G)*

A handful of variants is enough to alter the entire discourse profile of Jeremiah 32[39] in G.[83] In v. 6, ויאמר ירמיהו is unrepresented and the remaining *WEF* variant is in the third person.[84] This results in a sudden transition to the first person in v. 8 (καὶ ἦλθε πρός με), so that Jeremiah becomes the narrator, and the degree of embedding is thereby reduced

lem (1986: 619) is likewise unnecessary; literary considerations should not force the outcome of textual investigations at this or any point.

81. The delay of information characterizes Jer. 32 (e.g. v. 25). It may well be, if G σὺ λέγεις reflects the original reading here, that Jeremiah alone objected. Verse 36 is much more likely to have been pl. originally, as I argue in Chapter 6.

82. In the same vein, given the observation that symbolic acts invariably receive the *imprimatur* of a first-person presentation, the switch that occurs at v. 6 should be seen as a stylistic manoeuvre (similar to that in 18.3) whose aim is to have Jeremiah himself tell of something that occurred during his incarceration.

83. The same is also true of Jer. 35[42].

84. The inverted word order in this *WEF* variant is unique.

by one level right through to v. 25 (see the table below). It might appear that this difference simply reflects the tendency in M to reduce the number of speakers,[85] but the single speaker in M is not YHWH, as we would expect in that case. Moreover, in other similar variants G favours first-person references to Jeremiah (§5.6.1). Most seriously, despite the superficial similarity of this shift to 18.1-3; 35[42].1-3,[86] v. 8 is quite unprecedented in that it continues a *WEF* rather than a *WGF*. Being a true sentence rather than a superscript, the *WEF* does not lend itself to such a continuation, and this must be judged a hiatus.[87] These considerations combine to raise the perennial problem in Septuagint Jeremiah studies, namely the question of *Vorlage*, and this problem will be addressed in due course.

Verse 26 completes the picture, where πρός με (M = אל ירמיהו) continues the narrative of vv. 8-25. Thus, although M and G are on the same level of communication, the speakers are different: the narrator in M, Jeremiah in G. To this should be added the variants אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις (vv. 36aR, 43aR), by which vv. 26-44 are shaped as a dialogue exclusively between YHWH and Jeremiah. These variants, taken together, have the appearance of premeditation about them, though whether the re-shaping was carried out by M, LXXV, the translator or a combination of the three is an open question. On literary grounds alone, arguments can be mounted to support several possibilities.

Finally, the lack of an equivalent for לכן in v. 36 simplifies the relationship between the various parts of God's reply. In particular, the link back to v. 27 is weakened and G presents us with a simple series of oracles on different themes (cf. Hardmeier 1993: 70).

Other variants of macrostructural significance are the lack of an equivalent for נאם יהוה in vv. 5, 29, 44, and of הנה in vv. 17, 24b, 27, 28, 37. As I shall argue, the latter group of M pluses has a distinct structuring rôle in M.

The major variations in discourse structure between M and G are laid out in the following table:

85. Or, so as not to prejudge, the tendency in G to vary the speaker.

86. So Migsch 1997: 320 n. 14.

87. In fact, there is a change of speaker without the expected signals, namely a discourse marker plus embedding of speech. It should not be confused with an 'orientation shift', in which the speaker remains the same (van Wieringen 1998: 18-19).

M level (1–4)	M	v.	G level (1–4)	G
1	The word which was to Jer. from Y.	1	1	The word which was from Y. to Jer.
1	At that time...Zedekiah...said,	2	1	At that time...Zedekiah...said,
2	Why do you prophesy saying,	3	2	Why do you prophesy saying,
3	Thus says Y.,		3	Thus says Y.,
4	הנה, Zed. will be given...		4	ἰδού, Zed. will be given...
3	נאם יהוה	5		
1	And Jeremiah said,	6	1	And the word of Y. came to Jer. saying,
2	The word of Y. came to me saying,			
3	הנה Han...will come saying,	7	2	ἰδοὺ Han...will come saying,
4	buy for yourself my field...		3	buy for yourself my field...
2	And Hanamel came...	8	1	And Hanamel came...
2	and I knew...and I bought...	9	1	and I knew...and I bought...
2	and I commanded Baruch saying,	13	1	and I commanded Bar. saying,
3	Thus says Y.,	14	2	Thus says Y.,
4	Take these deeds...		3	Take this deed...
3	For thus says Y.,	15	2	For thus says Y.,
4	Houses...shall be bought.		3	Fields...shall be bought.
2	And I prayed to Y...saying,	16	1	And I prayed to Y...saying,
3	Ah Y., הנה you made...	17	2	Ah Y., you made...
3	and you brought your people...	21	2	and you brought your people...
3	הנה the siege mounds...	24	2	ἰδοὺ a multitude...
3	and the city is given to the C'deans,		2	and the city is given to the C'deans.
3	and הנה you see it.			
3	And you said to me...	25	2	And you are saying to me...
4	Buy for yourself the field...		3	Buy for yourself the field...
4	and get witnesses to witness		2	and I wrote...sealed...got witnesses...
3	and the city is given to the C'deans.		2	and the city is given to the C'deans.
1	And the word of Y. came to Jer. saying,	26	1	And the word of Y. came to me saying,
2	הנה I am Y...	27	2	I am Y...
2	לכן thus says Y.,	28	2	διὰ τοῦτο thus says Y. God of Israel,
3	הנני, [I] am giving this city...		3	this city will certainly be given...
2	נאם יהוה...	30		
3	And they turned to me a back...	33	3	And they turned to me a back...
3	and they set...and they built...	34	3	and they set...and they built...
2	ועתה לכן thus says Y. God of Israel	36	2	καὶ νῦν thus says Y. God of Israel
2	about this city of which אתם אמרים		2	about this city of which σὺ λέγεις
3	*It is given to Babylon!*		3	*It will be given to Babylon!*
3	הנני, [I] am gathering...	37	3	ἰδού, I am gathering...
3	and they'll be...and I'll give...	38	3	and they'll be...and I'll give...

For thus says Y.,	42	For thus says Y.,
just as I brought…so I bring…		just as I brought…so I will bring…
and the field will be bought	43	and fields will be bought
in the land of which אתם אמרים		in the land of which σὺ λέγεις
It is desolate…		*It is desolate…*
It is given to the Chaldeans!		*They were given to the C'deans!*
Fields with silver they will buy	44	And they'll buy fields with silver
and writing in the book…		And you (sg.) shall write a book…
for I will restore their fortunes,		for I will turn their captivity.
נאם יהוה		

2.5 *Jeremiah 32: An Embedded Discourse*

	4	3	2	1
32.1				הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה
				בשנת העשרית לצדקיהו מלך יהודה
				היא השנה שמנה עשרה שנה לנבוכדראצר
2				ואז חיל מלך בבל צרים על ירושלים
				וירמיהו הנביא היה כלוא בחצר המטרה
				אשר בית מלך יהודה
3				אשר כלאו צדקיהו מלך יהודה לאמר
			מדוע אתה נבא לאמר	
		כה אמר יהוה		
	הנני נתן את העיר הזאת ביד מלך בבל			
	ולכדה			
4	וצדקיהו מלך יהודה לא ימלט מיד הכשדים			
	כי הנתן ינתן ביד מלך בבל			
	ודבר פיו עם פיו			
	ועיניו את עינו תראינה			
5	ובבל יולך את צדקיהו			
	ושם יהיה עד פקדי אתו			
		נאם יהוה		
	כי תלחמו את הכשדים			
	לא תצליחו			
6				ויאמר ירמיהו
			היה דבר יהוה אלי לאמר	
7		הנה חנמאל בן שלם דדך בא אליך לאמר		
	קנה לך את שדי			
	אשר בענתות			
	כי לך משפט הגאלה לקנות			
8			ויבא אלי חנמאל בן דדי כדבר יהוה אל חצר המטרה	
			ויאמר אלי	
		קנה נא את שדי		
		אשר בענתות אשר בארץ בנימן		
		כי לך משפט הירשה		

4 | 3 | 2 | 1

ולך הגאלה קנה לך
ואדע כי דבר יהוה הוא
9 ואקנה את השדה מאת חנמאל בן דדי
אשר בענתות
ואשקלה לו את הכסף שבעה שקלים ועשרה הכסף
10 ואכתב בספר
ואחתם
ואעד עדים
ואשקל הכסף במאזנים
11 ואקח את ספר המקנה את החתום המצוה והחקים ואת הגלוי
12 ואתן את הספר המקנה אל ברוך בן נריה בן מחסיה
לעיני חנמאל דדי
ולעיני העדים הכתבים בספר המקנה
לעיני כל היהודים הישבים בחצר המטרה
13 ואצוה את ברוך לעיניהם לאמר
14 כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל
לקוח את הספרים האלה
את ספר המקנה הזה ואת החתום
ואת ספר הגלוי הזה
ונתתם בכלי חרש
למען יעמדו ימים רבים
15 כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל
עוד יקנו בתים ושדות וכרמים בארץ הזאת
16 ואתפלל אל יהוה
אחרי תתי את ספר המקנה אל ברוך בן נריה לאמר
17 אהה אדני יהוה
הנה אתה עשית את השמים ואת הארץ
בכחך הגדול ובזרעך הנטויה
לא יפלא ממך כל דבר
18 עשה חסד לאלפים
ומשלם עון אבות אל חיק בניהם אחריהם
האל הגדול הגבור יהוה צבאות שמו
19 גדל העצה ורב העליליה
אשר עיניך פקחות על כל דרכי בני אדם
לתת לאיש כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו
20 אשר שמת אתות ומפתים בארץ מצרים
עד היום הזה ובישראל ובאדם
ותעשה לך שם כיום הזה
21 ותצא את עמך את ישראל מארץ מצרים
באתות ובמופתים וביד חזקה ובאזרוע נטויה ובמורא גדול
22 ותתן להם את הארץ הזאת
אשר נשבעת לאבותם לתת להם
ארץ זבת חלב ודבש
23 ויבאו

4 | 3 | 2 | 1

וירשו אתה
ולא שמעו בקולך
ובתרותך לא הלכו
את כל אשר צויתה להם לעשות
לא עשו
ותקרא אתם את כל הרעה הזאת
24 הנה הסללות באו העיר ללכדה
והעיר נתנה ביד הכשדים
הנלחמים עליה מפני החרב והרעב והדבר
ואשר דברת
היה
והנך ראה
25 ואתה אמרת אלי אדני יהוה
קנה לך השדה בכסף
והעד עדים
והעיר נתנה ביד הכשדים
26 ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו לאמר
27 הנה אני יהוה אלהי כל בשר
הממני יפלא כל דבר
28 לכן כה אמר יהוה
הנני נתן את העיר הזאת
ביד הכשדים
וביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל
ולכדה
29 ובאו הכשדים
הנלחמים על העיר הזאת
והציתו את העיר הזאת באש
ושרפוה
ואת הבתים
אשר קטרו על גגותיהם לבעל
והסכו נסכים לאלהים אחרים
למען הכעסני
30 כי היו בני ישראל ובני יהודה
אך עשים הרע בעיני
מנערתיהם
כי בני ישראל
אך מכעסים אתי
במעשה ידיהם
נאם יהוה
31 כי על אפי ועל חמתי
היתה לי העיר הזאת
למן היום אשר בנו אותה ועד היום הזה
להסירה מעל פני
32 על כל רעת בני ישראל ובני יהודה

4 | 3 | 2 | 1

אשר עשו להכעסני
המה מלכיהם שריהם כהניהם ונביאיהם
ואיש יהודה וישבי ירושלם
33 ויפנו אלי ערף ולא פנים
ולמד אתם השכם ולמד
ואינם שמעים לקחת מוסר
34 וישימו שקוציהם
בבית אשר נקרא שמי
עליו לטמאו
35 ויבנו את במות הבעל
אשר בגיא בן הנם
להעביר את בניהם ואת בנותיהם למלך
אשר לא צויתים
ולא עלתה על לבי לעשות התועבה הזאת
למען החטי את יהודה
36 ועתה לכן כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל אל העיר הזאת
אשר אתם אמרים
נתנה ביד מלך בבל בחרב וברעב ובדבר
37 הנני מקבצם מכל הארצות
אשר הדחתים שם באפי ובחמתי ובקצף גדול
והשבתים אל המקום הזה
והשבתים לבטח
38 והיו לי לעם
ואני אהיה להם לאלהים
39 ונתתי להם לב אחד ודרך אחד
ליראה אותי כל הימים
לטוב להם ולבניהם אחריהם
40 וכרתי להם ברית עולם
אשר לא אשוב מאחריהם
להיטיבי אותם
ואת יראתי אתן בלבבם
לבלתי סור מעלי
41 וששתי עליהם
להטיב אותם
ונטעתים בארץ הזאת באמת בכל לבי ובכל נפשי
42 כי כה אמר יהוה
כאשר הבאתי אל העם הזה את כל הרעה הגדולה הזאת
כן אנכי מביא עליהם את כל הטובה
אשר אנכי דבר עליהם
43 ונקנה השדה בארץ הזאת
אשר אתם אמרים
שממה היא מאין אדם ובהמה
נתנה ביד הכשדים
44 שדות בכסף יקנו

<table>
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<tr><td colspan="2">וכתוב בספר וחתום והעד עדים</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">בארץ בנימן ובסביבי ירושלם ובערי יהודה</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
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Chapter Three

JEREMIAH 32.1-15

3.1 *Variants for Discussion*

v.	M	G	§
1	אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה	παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμιαν	3.5.1
	לצדקיהו מלך יהודה	τῷ βασιλεῖ Σεδεκια	3.6.1
	לנבוכדראצר	τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος	3.4.1
2	ואז	καὶ	3.6.2.1
	צרים	ἐχαράκωσεν	3.5.2
	הנביא	>	3.4.2
	היה כלוא	ἐφυλάσσετο	3.6.2.2
	מלך יהודה	τοῦ βασιλέως	3.6.1
3	צדקיהו מלך יהודה	ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκιας	3.6.1
	ביד	ἐν χερσὶ	3.5.3
4	צדקיהו מלך יהודה	Σεδεκιας	3.6.1
	לא	οὐ μὴ	3.5.4
5	בבל יולך את צדקיהו	εἰσελεύσεται Σεδεκιας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα	3.6.3.1
	יהיה	καθιεῖται	3.6.3.2
	עד פקדי ... תצליחו	om.	3.6.3.3-4
6	ויאמר ירמיהו היה דבר יהוה אלי	καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ιερεμιαν	3.6.3.5
7	הגאלה	παραλαβεῖν	3.6.4
8	>	Σαλωμ	3.4.3
	כדבר יהוה	>	3.4.4
	קנה נא	κτῆσαι	3.5.5
	אשר בענתות אשר בארץ בנימין	τὸν ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν τὸν ἐν Αναθωθ	3.5.6
	הירשה	κτήσασθαι	3.6.4
	ולך הגאלה	καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος	3.6.4
	קנה לך	>	3.4.5
9	מאת	>	3.4.6
	אשר בענתות	>	3.4.7

v.	M	G	§
	את הכסף	>	3.4.8
	הכסף	ἀργυρίου	3.2.4
11	המצוה והחקים	>	3.4.9
12	הספר המקנה	αὐτὸ	3.2.5
	דדי	υἱοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου	3.2.6
	העדים הכתבים	τῶν ἑστηκότων καὶ γραφόντων	3.5.7
	לעיני כל היהודים	καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν Ιουδαίων	3.4.10
	הישבים	>	3.4.11
14	אלהי ישראל	>	3.4.12
	את הספרים האלה	>	3.6.5
	ואת החתום	>	3.6.5
	הגלוי הזה	τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον	3.3.2; 3.6.5
	ונתתם	καὶ θήσεις	3.6.5
	למען יעמדו	ἵνα διαμείνῃ	3.6.5
15	צבאות אלהי ישראל	>	3.4.12
	בתים ושדות וכרמים	ἀγροὶ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ ἀμπελῶνες	3.5.8

3.2 *Comments on the Masoretic Text*

3.2.1

K בשנת] Q בשנה (v. 1). For the epexegetical genitive בשנת, see GKC (§§128k, 134p). K is unusual, but acceptable, so that—taking this variant on its own—one would tend to favour the less conventional בשנת, with Q representing a secondary 'correction'.[1]

3.2.2

השנה שמנה עשרה שנה (v. 1). Tg: שתא...שנין, Pesh: > ...ܫܢܬܐ, Vg: *annus*...>, G: ἐνιαυτὸς...>. M provides an unusual reading, in that one would usually expect either שנת before the number (e.g. Jer. 52.29) or שנה after it (e.g. Jer. 1.2) or both in combination (e.g. Jer. 52.12; cf. JM, §142o); my observation is that שנה with the article is only ever used before ordinals (not cardinals) below eleven.[2] At first glance, then, השנה looks supicious, although Tg has followed it faithfully.[3]

1. Migsch suggests that copyists replaced antiquated expressions with common ones (1996: 54). If so, they were inconsistent, for while Jer. 28.1 provides an identical K/Q reading, two other cases of בשנת have gone untouched (46.2; 51.59).

2. In which case the number is also definite: Jer. 25.1, 1; 28.1; 36.1, 9; 39.1; 45.1; 52.4; 2 Kgs 18.9 (with היא).

3. Elsewhere in Jeremiah, where M has שנת Tg supplies a construct form. The

Pesh and Vg offer little help. Drawing conclusions from the form of Pesh is hazardous (*pace* Migsch 1996: 55), as it is not consistent in matching the definiteness of its *Vorlage* (see n. 6 below), and its choice here is more conventional than that of Tg. Neither should the non-attestation of שנה 2° by Pesh be used to emend M. Migsch (1996: 55 n. 12) suggests that Pesh is influenced by G. Yet in Jer. 52.12 Pesh both includes the synchronism absent in G and lacks שנה 2°, which suggests that it, like Vg, is influenced by considerations of style in our verse. Moreover, elements that occur twice in M are frequently represented just once in a version.[4] In any case, dependence of Pesh on G would be insufficient grounds for emending M, as a brief consideration of G suggests.

In the case of G, we would seem to be dealing either with an exegetical rendering of a *Vorlage* identical to M (in which the paraphrase necessitated by השנה encouraged the omission of an equivalent for שנה 2°), or with a *Vorlage* showing recensional rather than textual differences, that is, LXXV = *שנת שמנה עשרה. It is improbable that M originally contained such a reading, for not only would two separate accidents need to have befallen it, but there is no obvious way by which an original *שנת could have been transformed either accidentally or intentionally into השנה. On the other hand, the use of a word (השנה) that is everywhere else followed by an ordinal under eleven might suggest that the writer, having just written 'tenth year', began to write it again. In other words, it is possible that we have here in M an original 'mistake'. To call it a mistake is, of course, somewhat presumptuous; after all, the determination of numerals is a complex feature of Hebrew (JM, §142l; cf. Deut. 11.12), and synchronisms are far from uniform in their phraseology.[5] In addition, the faithfulness of Tg is to be reckoned with. I therefore retain the more difficult השנה...שנה.

3.2.3

K עינו] Q עיניו (v. 4). Tg: עינוהי, Pesh: ܠܥܝ̈ܢܘܗܝ, Vg: *oculos illius*. With the versions, Q is preferable. י 2° could have dropped out accidentally, in haplographic confusion with ו.

discrepancy of number in Tg שנין is not compensatory, as the pl. is also found in the 'correct' expression of Jer. 52.12.

4. The phenomenon is frequent enough to attract a label in *HUB* (p. xxiii).

5. Cf. 2 Kgs 18.9, 10; 25.8 = Jer. 52.12; Jer. 25.1; Ezek. 1.2.

3.2.4

הכסף 2° (v. 9). Tg: דכסף, Pesh: ܕܟܣܦܐ, Vg: *argenteos*, G: ἀργυρίου. Pesh follows G Tg: its emphatic state is not significant,[6] and this is its normal pattern of affinity.[7] Migsch (1996: 65) emends M to *כסף, influenced by G and by the fact that when כסף is bound with שקל(ים) the article always drops out. He suggests dittography (ועשרה הכסף), after Ehrlich (1968 [1912]: 325). However, the entire construction שבעה שקלים ועשרה הכסף is unique: שקלים כסף or כסף שקלים is the norm.[8] Given the uniqueness of the context, Hitzig's explanation is much better (1866: 260): that the author deliberately avoided *שבעה עשר, so as to allocate the types and forms of the coinage (*Münzsorte*) between the two halves of the combined figure: this was probably 'officialese' (*Kanzleistyl*). This suits the pedantic precision of the passage perfectly.[9] One might object that this has no bearing on the article in question, but only on the word order, yet this is not so. We seem to be in the realm of official terminology, and it is even possible that two acts of weighing were involved, as Lowth (1718: 280) implies: 'But our Margin reads, *Seven Shekels, and Ten Pieces of Silver*: And the Ten Pieces may stand for a larger sum than a Shekel, as the *Seventy Pieces* mentioned Judg. ix. 4. certainly do.' Compare Tg שבעה מנן ועסר סלעין דכסף.[10] Even without these reasons for rejecting Migsch's emendation, the fact remains that it would be natural for a translator (in any of the languages) to omit the article in aid of the sense. M should be retained.

3.2.5

הספר המקנה (v. 12). Q^{Or}, numerous MSS: ספר המקנה.[11] M looks awkward. Is it a correct apposition (GKC, §127h), or an erroneous construct

6. See Strothmann under ܟܣܦܐ. In the prophets one finds בחמשה עשר כסף | ܕܟܣܦ (Hos. 3.2); שלשים כסף | ܕܟܣܦܐ (Zech. 11.12); שלשים הכסף | ܕܟܣܦܐ (Zech. 11.3).

7. See McKane 1986: xxviii, xxxiv-xxxv; Running 1985.

8. Only כסף שלושים שקלים (Exod. 21.32) and כסף חמשת שקלים (Num. 18.16) break this mould.

9. Cf. also Orelli 1889 [1882]: 243. Weiser (1982: 295 n. 1) suggests that the ordering of the words may have had something to do with the method/instrument of weighing ('mit der Art des Darwägens').

10. מניא = a small coin, which typically renders Heb. שקל; סלעא = a coin, not represented in M according to Strothmann.

11. But not Eb 22, which has הספר המקנה. Migsch (1996: 56) has erroneously included it with Q^{Or}.

form?[12] Those who give priority to the G reading αὐτὸ explain in terms of expansions and conflations. Thus, for Janzen, the awkward grammar is a clue to scribal conflation of *את הספר and *את ספר המקנה (1973: 33).[13] However, it seems unlikely that a scribe clarifying *אתו would have added something other than the standard term ספר המקנה from the start, which would hardly have received the gloss הספר.[14] One of two further options seems more likely: (1) M is correct, and the two words are intentionally placed in apposition in order to associate the book and the field even more closely, as part of a rhetoric that is building up to just such a connection.[15] In this case, G could either be an exegetical rendition aimed at avoiding a difficult reading, or else a faithful reflection of a shorter *Vorlage*. (2) M suffered a dittography (אתהספר) and subsequent ה/ת interchange, whether accidental or by way of salvaging the sense.[16] This is the option I judge most likely, as the apposition outlined above seems to me somewhat strained. In this case, the original M reading is probably an expansion of *אתו made to enhance the structure of the passage.[17] At first sight it may seem overly coincidental that the same reading underwent both intentional and unintentional alteration, but given the number of M pluses in Jeremiah, it is hardly surprising that the occasional transmission accident should befall one of these.

To summarize: I lean towards the adoption of Q^{Or} (with *BHK*), but the subjectivity of the argument justifies Holladay's caution when he

12. So Giesebrecht 1894: 178; Stipp 1994: 76.

13. Elsewhere (p. 74) he calls this 'a clarifying expansion' from vv. 11, 12aβ. For variations on this theme, see Rudolph (1967: 208), who deletes המקנה.

14. Although v. 10 attests בספר without המקנה, there is good reason for this, as it is no more than a simple book at this stage. It is the process of writing, sealing and witnessing that makes it ספר המקנה.

15. מקנה/קנה is the key word of the narrative, and its association first with השדה and then with הספר is the main indicator that there is a transfer of significance from one to the other (and back again in v. 15). Note also that in M the book is never referred to in exactly the same way twice: בספר (v. 10); את ספר המקנה (v. 11); את הספר המקנה (v. 12); בספר המקנה (v. 13); את הספרים האלה (v. 14); and את ספר המקנה הזה (v. 14). In a context of such variety, v. 12 could well be just one more—albeit surprising—variation.

16. For examples of ה/ת interchange in 1QIsa^a, see Ziegler (1959: 52).

17. Cf. Stipp (1994: 76), who points out that pronominal expressions in LXXV are often filled out in M.

remarks, 'whether this represents a correction or a trace of the original alternative reading is impossible to say' (1989: 204).[18]

3.2.6

דדי (v. 12). Eb 22 and a few MSS: בן דדי, Pesh: ܒܪ ܕܕܝ, Vg: *patruelis mei,* G: υἱοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου. M is correct. Barthélemy (1986: 694-96) and McKane (1996b: 840) argue against adding *בן, considering the text to be a contraction of the fuller clause in vv. 8-9. Further, with Lowth (1718: 281), 'the Hebrew word Dôd, signifies any Relation or near Kinsman; see Amos vi.10. where the Septuagint very properly render it, Οικενιος'. Pesh is dependent on G (Migsch 1996: 57); Vg understood דד as 'cousin' (Barthélemy 1986: 696). It is thus unnecessary to suppose that בן dropped out of M.[19]

Given that M is not corrupt, and that דדי means בן דדי, there is no reason to believe that LXXV differed; I take G to be an *ad sensum* expansion.

3.2.7

הכתבים (v. 12). Numerous MSS (but not Cod. Aleppo [*HUB*]): הכתובים, Tg: דכתיבין, Pesh: ܕܟܬܝܒܝܢ, Vg: *qui scripti erant,* α´ σ´ Syh: των γεγραμμενων. Both readings make good sense, and modern versions are divided (with M: NRSV, NASB; against: NEB, NJPSV). Pesh and Vg could be dependent on Tg,[20] but both traditions (act. and pass.) seem to be old (Migsch 1996: 57). As there is no reason for emending it, M should be retained.

18. The Greek gives no help: the hexaplaric reading τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως could reflect either M as it stands or את ספר המקנה; no MS reads τὸ βιβλίον.

19. Qimḥi supports the reading בן דדי, though Rashi suggests that 'this Chanam'el was a different man by the same name' (Plaut 1996: 317).

20. Cf. Hayward 1985. Kedar-Kopfstein (1969: 46) points out that, despite this Vg reading, Jerome's commentary 'is based on a reading akin to the MT: "vidente anameel...et testibus qui subscripserant...in emptionis volumine..." ' He adds (n. 17) that 'a span of about thirty years separates the Vulgate to Jeremiah [392 CE] from the commentary on it [420 CE... W]e assume that he made use of different MSS on different occasions.' Hayward (1987: 121) shows that Jerome was familiar with the Targumic traditions as early as 391.

3.3 *Comments on the Septuagint*

3.3.1

τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ] τω βασιλει ναβουχ. B-Σ A-106′ Aeth (*regni* pro τω βασ.) Arab; om. τῷ Q-V-26-46-86′-233-239-534-544 *O* (v. 1).

Ziegler (p. 56) has grouped this variant with four other G pluses witnessed in B-S A. He says only that the plus here is not original (p. 58), despite the fact that this combination of MSS generally witnesses to the unrevised Greek text (p. 56).

The complete title in B-S 106′ Aeth (and Rahlfs) is τῷ βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος.[21] This looks to be a conflation of the only other attested variations of the name: τῷ βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδονοσορ (Arab), and τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος (rel.). Elsewhere in Jeremiah, Nebuchadrezzar is named in only three ways, whether in M or G: 'the king of Babylon'; 'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon'; 'Nebuchadrezzar'. The title found in Arab is unique, though possible in theory, as it is used of Zedekiah (see §3.6.1). I therefore consider it possible that Arab attests the Old Greek, which has been universally harmonized, surviving in addition in the conflation of the B group. Nevertheless, I accept Ziegler's judgment here.

3.3.2

καὶ τὸ ἀνεῳγμένον 106] > B-410 *O* *L*′$^{-36}$ Arm: homoiot.; και το αν-εγνωσμενον S A Co Aeth Arab: cf. 14; και (+ το 130) εσφραγισμενον rel. (v. 11).

ἀνεῳγμένον Cappell. apud Schleusner I 171] ανεγνωσμενον codd. gr. et verss.: cf. 11; ανεγνωσμενον και εσφραγισμενον 233; + (※ *O*) τουτο *O* *L*′ = M (v. 14).

The witnesses that read ἐσφραγισμένον in v. 11 have simply suffered a transposition; in all cases ἀνεγνωσμένον precedes. Likewise, it is doubtless ἀνεγνωσμένον that has been lost from B by homoioteleuton (ἐσφραγισμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον), leaving MS 106 as the only lexical variant of any kind.

Ziegler discusses his choice in his treatment of controversial readings,[22] where he gives three succinct reasons: the translator probably

21. βασιλεῖ 2° is lacking in A. This is doubtless an inner-Greek omission, as it cannot be retroverted meaningfully (cf. §3.6.1).

22. Ziegler (1958: 52); the testimony of MS 106 saves it from being categorized as a conjecture (p. 17).

rendered 'exactly' ('genau'); ἀνοίγω is also used for גלה in 1 Chron. 17.25; Job 38.17; ἀνεγνωσμένον could easily arise from an original ἀνεῳγμένον. Beginning from the last point, it is clear that ἀνεγνωσμένον could just as easily metamorphose to ἀνεῳγμένον. Next, ἀνοίγω translates only פתח in Jeremiah (13.19; 50[27].25, 26), and ἀναγινώσκω translates only קרא in Jeremiah; the pass. ptc. גלוי is not rendered with either word outside these verses, but this is not surprising, since it occurs only six times in the Septuagint, referring to opened eyes (Num. 24.4, 16) and to a published edict (Est. 3.14; 8.13). Lastly, there seems to be an unwarranted assumption here that G always renders *verbum ad verbum* rather than *sensus ad sensum*. Ziegler's choice reflects the similarity of the dictionary definitions of ἀνεῳγμένον and הגלוי.[23] The dictionary definition of ἀνεγνωσμένον, however, is closer to the meaning-in-context of הגלוי, namely something not just open, but public and known to all.[24] Further, the word is attested in Diogenes Laertius opposite τὰ ἀνέκδοτα in the phrase τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα, 'books *read aloud,* hence, *published*' (LSJ). In short, and given the overwhelming MS support for ἀνεγνωσμένον (so Rahlfs), there is no reason to follow the minority reading. See further Bogaert (1995: 56 n. 6, 69).

3.4 *Quantitative Variants*

3.4.1

לנבוכדראצר | τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος (v. 1). This is the only G plus of vv. 1-5.[25] It is not likely that M omitted this, similar as it is to other details (Tov 1981: 150 n. 19), but it is very difficult to say whether LXXV or the translator added it (*pace* Min 1977: 132; Migsch 1996: 64). This is the most prominent title in G vv. 1-6, and one could argue that LXXV has the same tendency as M to add names and the like, but with a much lower frequency (so Min 1977: 314-15). However, the fact that the added names—in Jeremiah 32[39], at least—are

23. According to BAGD, ἀνοίγω is used of a closed place, a door, a seal, and a part of the body.

24. Schleusner (I, 171) comments, 'et τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον h.l. non tam significat, *quod legitur* sive *legebatur*, quam, *quod legi et inspici poterat*' (τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον in this place does not mean the same as *what is read* or *was read,* but *what was able to be read and seen*).

25. Though see my earlier discussion of the Greek text at this point.

to a greater or lesser degree clarificatory, opens up the possibility that the translator is at work.

The source of the expansion is probably the parallel synchronism in 34[41].1. Compare the G plus in 34[41].2, which seems to be a harmonization with 32[39].28 (§5.6.2).

3.4.2

הנביא | > (v. 2). This is a common M plus: cf. Auld (1984: 69-73), though his conclusions rest on a broader foundation than the mere existence of the pluses.

3.4.3

> | Σαλωμ (v. 8). Taken together with the fuller name in v. 12, this reflects a move towards greater precision in G (cf. Janzen 1973: 73); it is less likely that the name could have dropped from M, either by accident or intentionally.[26] And if, as I have argued, υἱοῦ in v. 12 is due to the translator, then it is possible that Σαλωμ, too, comes from his hand.

3.4.4

כדבר יהוה | > (v. 8). McKane (1996b: 839) says that this 'wrongly anticipates the end of the verse' (cf. Duhm 1901). However, כדבר יהוה marks as a fulfilment not just Hanamel's words, but his coming, so heightening the significance of the event; secondly, it comes at the exact halfway point of vv. 6b-8, and gives to each half an inverted parallel structure.[27]

Bogaert links the phrase with the plus ויאמר ירמיהו (v. 6), adding that it expresses an idea often encountered in M additions: the effective realization of the divine word (1995: 65). However, I shall argue that v. 6 contains no M plus (§3.6.3). A haplography in LXXV is possible also,

26. The more exact repetition in G v. 8 also strengthens the impression of a word in the process of fulfilment.

27. The first half:

היה דבר יהוה אלי לאמר	6b	Word of YHWH
הנה חנמאל בן שלם דדך בא אליך לאמר	7	Hanamel is coming
קנה לך את שדי אשר בענתות		citation: 'Buy for yourself…'
כי לך משפט הגאלה לקנות		citation: 'You have the right…to buy'
ויבא אלי חנמאל בן דדי	8a	Hanamel came
כדבר יהוה אל חצר המטרה		Word of YHWH

The second half is brought to a close by כי דבר יהוה הוא at the end of v. 8.

דבר יהוה כדבר י״, assuming an abbreviated tetragrammaton, but its structural significance suggests it is secondary in M.

3.4.5

קנה לך | > (v. 8). I judge this plus to be secondary in M, as it is not the sort of awkward or ambiguous reading G might be tempted to omit (cf. §§3.4.8; 3.4.11), but it is structurally desirable, providing the complement to לקנות in v. 7—the only element otherwise unrepresented in Hanamel's reply.

3.4.6

מאת | > (v. 9). This probably dropped from LXXV: השדה מאת (with Migsch 1996: 65).

3.4.7

אשר בענתות | > (v. 9). Most scholars reject this as secondary because of its awkward positioning (e.g. Peake 1911: 116-17). There is a logic to the positioning, however. In both divine announcement (v. 7) and narrated fulfilment (v. 8) the order of the elements is the same: (1) חנמאל...לאמר, (2) קנה...את שדי, (3) אשר בענתות.[28] Verse 9 records what followed by reversing the order of (1) and (2), and by delaying אשר בענתות in v. 9 the account of the fulfilment becomes tauter. The fact that considerations of structure and 'story' seem to underlie the plus makes it more likely to be secondary in M. There seems little motive for an abbreviation in LXXV, when a simple transposition would suffice to smooth out the reading.

3.4.8

את הכסף | > (v. 9). This is a prime candidate for translator abbreviation, or even *Vorlage* abbreviation. It is strictly unnecessary in M, and is not a typical secondary expansion, viz. names, titles, etc. There is no obvious cause for haplography in LXXV or G, so that its addition or omission is likely to have been intentional. Most, of course, consider it secondary because of its awkwardness,[29] but it is an acceptable idiom, being found in Gen. 23.16. Kilpp (1990: 74 n. 18) suggests on this basis

28. These verses are further held together by the threefold דבר יהוה—cf. previous note.

29. Duhm (1901: 263) blames a copyist who liked inserting unnecessary words; Janzen (1973: 49) judges it an expansion from v. 10.

that G improved the style by abbreviating, and if we set aside a theory of general M expansion, this seems more probable, by *lectio difficilior.*

3.4.9

המצוה והחקים | > (v. 11).[30] Many interpreters can make little sense of these words in the context,[31] so either move them to another place, whether the end of v. 11[32] or v. 10,[33] or follow G in omitting them.[34] Peters (1892: 43), assuming that Jeremiah used clay tablets that later became obsolete, claims that these words are a gloss from a later era when החתום was unintelligible. Yet these words are not ungrammatical, as Peters obviously believed, for Tsumura (1983, 1996) has shown that this is but one of numerous cases in the OT of an element inserted into a compound unit that limits the unit as a whole grammatically or semantically. In this case, המצוה והחקים should be taken as an adverbial phrase 'which is not modifying *wā'eqqaḥ*, but explaining the legal practice of making open and sealed copies' (Tsumura 1983: 477). The result, 'I took the deed of purchase, the sealed text and the open one, in accordance with the requirements of the law,' is rendered correctly by NJPSV and JB, but not NASB or NRSV.

A more viable mechanism for a secondary M reading is to be found in the similarity of המצוה והחקים and המקנה את החתום, which might

30. Several MSS read ואת המצוה (Kennicott lists five, and two more without the conjunction), and according to Würthwein (1988: 22) there is an *ittur sopherim* in this verse as witnessed by the Talmud (though not appearing in Masoretic lists: Kelley 1998: 41). Freedman (the editor of the Soncino edition) takes the reference in *Ned.* 38a as being to Deut. 6.1, but in the introduction to the 1524–25 edition of the Rabbinic Bible, Jacob ben Ḥayyim identifies the Talmudic reference as Jer. 32.11, and grounds his view in the opinion of Rashi (Ginsburg 1865: 12-13: cf. *Ned.* 38a, n. 2). Ginsburg (1897: 316-17) points out that ואת המצוה is the *kethib* reading in the Petersburg Codex (Cod. Petersburg Heb B 3, Latter Prophets, written in 916), and the textual reading in the Soncino Prophets of 1485–86. See further Ginsberg's עשרים וארבעה ספרי הקדש. *HUB* has a full listing of such variants, including the addition of ואת in Eb 60, MS New York (כת ו ל ק) and Eastern traditions. Eb 22 and the Petersburg *qere* read והמצוה. All these variants make for easier reading, and might arguably suggest a third document is in view (see §3.6.5.8), but the Aleppo and Leningrad codices are to be followed.

31. E.g. Rudolph (1967: 208): מצוה nowhere means 'agreement' (*Abmachung*).

32. E.g. Driver 1937–38: 120.

33. E.g. Volz 1983 [1928]: 240-41; *BHS*; *Lutherbibel.*

34. E.g. Wanke (1989: 268), who believes they are totally without connection to the context. Cf. Stipp 1994: 75; McKane 1996b: 340.

suggest corruption and later conflation (Janzen 1973: 16, 197). Barthélemy, however, believes that the words are original, concluding that G seems not to have been able to interpret them, and so they were omitted (1986: xv, 693-94). This is also Bright's opinion, but Janzen is rightly sceptical, pointing out that this could well be a legal technical term, presumably well understood given the frequency of land purchases, the individual words of which are common. 'Elsewhere the translator attempted to render, as conscientiously as he knew, words and phrases which...made very awkward sense' (1973: 196-97).[35]

Since M, being grammatically sound, is just as plausible a primary reading as G, I prefer the solution of a haplography in LXXV: המקנה את החתום המצוה והחקים (Janzen 1973: 197). This is both a common event in the LXXV text history, and simpler than the alternative of conflation in M.

3.4.10

לעיני כל היהודים | καὶ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν Ιουδαίων (v. 12). The validity of retroversions from grammatical variants has been much debated. I shall nevertheless conclude, in Chapter 4, that G frequently adds καὶ to members of lists that lack it: see §§4.3.1; 5.4.6. *BHS* is unwarranted here in recommending the addition of ו to לעיני.

Janzen (1973: 65-67) argues that כל is mostly secondary when it is a plus, whether in M or G, and has arisen from adjacent or parallel contexts. Using that reasoning, there could be a borrowing from 40[47].11 —where 'all the Judaeans' in the surrounding countries returned to the land to enjoy wine and summer fruit—so as to heighten the air of hope in ch. 32. There is only one further occurrence of כל היהודים that is not an M plus, in 41[48].3—the slaughter by Ishmael of 'all the Judaeans' with Gedaliah—and this works within the narrative of Jeremiah 40–41 to negate the promise of the earlier verse. Evidence that כל came in from a parallel is thus weak. In short, we can infer nothing about LXXV from the καὶ of G (*pace* Migsch 1996: 67). On the other hand, haplography in LXXV or G is unlikely, and the broader pattern and distribution of כל pluses suggests that an addition in M is a real possibility.[36]

35. Cf. also Hitzig (1866: 261), who appeals to an unknown usage of speech; also Streane (1896: 5). Both Talmudim take the phrase to mean 'according to law and regulations' (*b. B. Bat.* 160a; *y. Giṭ.* 49d [8:10 in Neusner's translation]); cf. Tg: כהלכתא וכדחזי.

36. Goshen-Gottstein specifically includes כל with ו as a word to be excluded

3.4.11

הישבים | > (v. 12). The translation *κατοικέω (or *κάθημαι) was probably dropped in G because it jarred with the odd rendering earlier in the verse: העדים | ἑστηκότων (see below). Min's treatment of variants like this (1977: 165) fails to do justice to questions of context.

3.4.12

אלהי ישראל (צבאות) | > (vv. 14, 15). The whole *BtF* in v. 14 is often rejected simply because of the context (e.g. Volz 1983 [1928]; Rudolph 1967; Weiser 1982). Thus Janzen (1973: 134) groups this phrase with seven such expanded formulae attested in both M and G, and, on the grounds that they are 'clearly' intrusive, considers them evidence of expansion in the text common to M and G before the two streams of transmission diverged. However, the formula in 32.14 is entirely appropriate, as Holladay shows (1989: 210).

3.5 *Qualitative Variants*

3.5.1

אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה | παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμιαν (v. 1). The question of word order and the translator's fidelity is very difficult to decide, one ordering usually being as good as another. The best way to assess this is by looking for cases where word order is retained in G, even at a cost. Martin (1957: 80-82) has shown that G frequently creates Hebraisms by its fidelity to word order, and that where Hebrew word order is fixed and Greek fluid (such as the position of demonstrative pronouns), the Hebrew pattern is 'almost invariably' followed. Further, the uniformity of word order in *WGF*s in M—but not G—suggests harmonization by M (Migsch 1996: 323 n. 4). I therefore judge that G reflects the primary reading, despite Stipp's argument that this is one of several secondary revisions in LXXV which make YHWH more prominent (1994: 152-53).[37]

from reliable retroversions (1963: 135 n. 12), and Janzen is well aware of the insecurity of reconstructions which involve כל (1973: 65, 68).

37. Cf. Jer. 10.4 in the 4QJer^{b} fragment, where an example of reversed word order over against M is similarly reversed in G.

3.5.2

צרים | ἐχαράκωσεν (v. 2). χαρακόω is used elsewhere only in Isa. 5.2 (סקל pi.), and only here for צור. However, צור is rare in Jeremiah, and translated inconsistently.[38] There is no reason to suspect a different *Vorlage*, and a vivid exegetical rendition seems likelier: cf. v. 24, ὄχλος.

3.5.3

ביד | ἐν χερσὶ (v. 3). The use of pl. for sg. is common in G, and ביד in particular is represented 52 times,[39] with considerable variety (εἰς + pl., 28 times; ἐν + pl., 9 times; εἰς +sg., once; ἐν + sg., 7 times; gen. alone, once; dat. alone, thrice).

3.5.4

לא | οὐ μὴ (v. 4). According to Moulton (p. 189), לא in the Septuagint 'is translated οὐ or οὐ μὴ indifferently within a single verse, as in Is 5 27'.[40] Moulton does not defend this statement, and simply observes (a) that οὐ μὴ is far more common here than in other Greek writings (p. 188), and (b) that its meaning often falls well short of emphatic. A cursory reading of the Septuagint tends to support the opinion that οὐ is 'somewhat enforced and made to sound solemn by the immediately following μὴ' (Muraoka, 177-78), but whether there are specific circumstances under which a translator chooses to use οὐ μὴ is an open question.

The distribution of οὐ μὴ throughout Jeremiah is very uneven. If we compare the prevalence of οὐ μὴ when compared with οὐ alone, the following results emerge:

38. συγκλείω (to confine) in Jer. 21.4, 9; πολιορκέω (to besiege) in 39[46].1; a minus in 37[44].5. Migsch (1996: 71) suggests that the translator's difficulty with הסללות in v. 24 (| ὄχλος) may have affected v. 2, but it is more likely that the prior use of χαρακόω affected the choice in v. 24. Note that in 33[40].4 סללות is translated by the related noun χάραξ (pallisade).

39. There are five omissions of whole or half verses, eight isolated omissions of which some are probably due to haplography (e.g. 32[39].28; 34[41].21), and five probably stylistic omissions, mostly in lists (21.7 [3°]; 22.25 [2°]; 36[43].14 [2°]; 38[45].11; 43[50].9).

40. Subsequent grammarians are dependent on Moulton's discussion. See also Wright 1986: 323. οὐ μὴ is used 88 times in Jeremiah, οὐ 408 times (e.g. 32.23, 33, 35). Sometimes both are used together in the same verse for לא or ולא (e.g. 6.10; 11.19; 16.6, 7; 20.9; 35[42].7).

Section of Jer.[41]	οὐ μή:[42] % of cases in Jer.	οὐ alone: % of cases in Jer.	Ratio of cases: οὐ μή : οὐ
1.1–25.13	26	67	1 : 12.5
[25.14–31.44]	26	12	1 : 2.5
[32–51]	49	21	1 : 2.0
Jer. α' [1–28]	38	74	1 : 9.5
Jer. β' [29–51]	61	26	1 : 2.0

Although οὐ μή is used far more abundantly in Jeremiah β' than Jeremiah α', its frequent use characterizes all the Oracles Against the Nations, not just the section in Jeremiah β'.[43] It is thus hard to decide whether its frequency is a result of the type of literature or the individual translator.

My impression of its use in Jeremiah is (a) that an occurrence of לא that has been rendered by οὐ μή is usually syntactically prominent: typically, לא-*yiqtol* or (*w*=)x-לא-*yiqtol*, but rarely *w*=לא-*yiqtol*.[44] On the other hand, (b) syntactic prominence does not prescribe the use of οὐ μή (21.7); (c) stylistic variation often takes precedence (e.g. the use of variation to subdivide a list: 16.6-8; 20.9). Finally, (d) in Jeremiah 32[39], the seven occurrences of לא fit this pattern: vv. 4, 17 appropriately take οὐ μή; vv. 23, 33, 35 appropriately take οὐ;[45] v. 40 אשׁר לא unpredictably takes οὐ μή despite its similarity to v. 35, and the difference probably comes down to the hopeful content (cf. 24.6; also 1.19; 4.27; 5.13; 15.20).

In short, the syntactic trends (not strong enough to be called anything else) would seem to reflect the translators' practice, executed to varying degrees, of emphasizing points that they consider important. While it is valid to think of this as a mild form of 'preaching' the text, it also (in

41. Brackets enclose Greek numbering.

42. So for example, of 86 cases of οὐ μή in Jeremiah, 22 (26 per cent) occur in chs. 1–25, and so on. Due to slight differences between my count and that of *AcCordance* (total οὐ μή = 86 or 88; total οὐ alone = 419 or 423), the following margins of error apply to the figures in the table: οὐ μή, ± 2 per cent; οὐ alone, ± 1 per cent. Note also that these figures include all equivalences for οὐ, such as אין, and not just לא, and since οὐ μή only ever renders לא, its proportional use is actually even higher than shown.

43. It is found 11 times in each section of the Oracles.

44. Jer. 6.10; 10.5b; 11.19 show examples of οὐ and οὐ μή each used 'differently' (*pace* Moulton) in the same verse.

45. Verses 23, 35 contain לא-*qatal*, which is never rendered with οὐ μή.

most cases) follows the textlinguistic contours of the source language, thus achieving 'discourse literalism' at the expense of exact quantitative representation.

3.5.5

קנה נא | κτῆσαι (v. 8). The particle נא occurs 30 times in Jeremiah, and is rendered δή 8 times,[46] but is otherwise left untranslated.[47] The lack of quantitative literalism here is probably in the same category as the treatment of the *nota accusativi.*

3.5.6

אשר בענתות אשר בארץ בנימין | τὸν ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν τὸν ἐν Αναθωθ (v. 8). Janzen (1973: 133), drawing on Bright and Rudolph, states that אשר בארץ בנימין is a clarifying gloss that occurred in the text before the archetypes of M and G diverged. Holladay (1989: 203) argues that the 'gloss' is original, as it prepares the way for v. 44, and that it is the other phrase (אשר בענתות) that is the gloss, as we already have the information given us in v. 7. He ties this to his elimination of אשר בענתות in v. 9.[48] In fact, 'Anathoth' is significant in the unfolding rhetoric of vv. 7-9, and the addition of 'Benjamin' is in keeping with the following clauses, which likewise are not just a simple repetition of their counterparts in v. 7, but are expanded.[49] In short, the excision of parts of this phrase is a literary-, not text-critical, enterprise, which in any case rests on shaky foundations. As far as the text-critical problem is concerned, the transposition was most probably extant in LXXV (§3.5.1), but there is no way of saying which is the older reading from these verses alone.

46. 5.21, 24; 18.11 [2°], 13; 37[44].3; 38[45].4; 40[47].15; 42[49].2. δή is used thrice more: 8.6; 9.19; 38[45].14.

47. In 45[51].3 (אוי נא | οἴμμοι οἴμμοι), G is probably rendering only אוי: cf. 4.31. Indeed, δή is almost the only equivalent for נא in the Septuagint when not in such combinations as הנה נא (ἰδού would then suffice).

48. Giesebrecht (1894: 176) argues that אשר בענתות in v. 8 is an unnecessary gloss from 1.1, while Driver (1906: 195), by identical reasoning, argues that אשר בארץ בנימין is a gloss from 1.1.

49. Compare Lowth's suggestion that the mention of Benjamin highlights the fact that the land in question is 'at this time actually in the Possession of the Chaldean Army' (1718: 279). For still another explanation see Wanke 1989: 268.

3.5.7

העדים הכתבים | τῶν ἑστηκότων καὶ γραφόντων (v. 12). This looks like LXXV *העמדים (in most of its occurrences in Jeremiah, ἵστημι translates עמד).[50] ἵστημι is used twice more in this passage, translating שקל in vv. 9, 10 (an acceptable rendition), but the repetition in v. 12 adds nothing to the effectiveness of the narrative. On the other hand, העדים is translated μάρτυρας in vv. 10, 25, 44, making it seem unlikely that the translator had העדים in front of him. The three other uses of עוד/עד (vb.) that appear in G outside ch. 32 (6.10; 29[36].23; 42[49].5) are all rendered with words in the μαρτυς- group. In short, LXXV would appear to have been *העמדים, and the odd impression created of standing signatories and seated onlookers may suggest an accidental alteration.[51]

Note that all phrases of the type *העמדים וכתבים contain epexegetical synonymous expressions (e.g. Isa. 2.13; Ezek. 9.4); only in 2 Chron. 23.12, העם הרצים והמהללים | τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν τρεχόντων καὶ ἐξομολογουμένων, are two distinct activities mentioned ('running' and 'praising'). I thus conclude that καὶ is a secondary addition to accommodate *העמדים, corrupt in LXXV.

3.5.8

בתים ושדות וכרמים | ἀγροὶ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ ἀμπελῶνες (v. 15). Migsch has mounted a trenchant attack on the M order here (1996: 324-25), showing that the G order 'fields–houses–vineyards' is extremely unusual, and reasoning by *lectio difficilior* that, as in v. 1 and often, M has standardized. But this argument is a double-edged sword: when Migsch goes on to show the rhetorical effectiveness of the order in G,[52] he provides therewith a reason for G to have rearranged the sequence (see also p. 322). Which sequence is the older requires a judgment about the literary interests of each version, and, despite this caveat, my conclusions about v. 44a[53] lead me to concur with Migsch.

50. So Hitzig (1866); Stade (1885: 177), and most since.

51. Bogaert (1995: 57 n. 7), assuming G to be original, and taking into account the M plus הישבים in the same verse, says that M has altered *עמד deliberately to avoid the suggestion that the witnesses were standing. He does not know why this is.

52. 'Fields' have been placed first because of the context; cf. the other disturbed sequence, in 35.9, where 'vineyards' come first in the context of the Rechabites' vow.

53. LXXV v. 44 began with שדות, and parallels with vv. 15, 25 were an important compositional influence. See §6.6.4.

3.6 *Variants of Special Interest*

3.6.1 *The Titles of Zedekiah*

In 32.1-5 the name of Zedekiah is involved in two transpositions (as well as two other variants, one of which lacks the proper name). However, an examination of the way this name is used in M and G shows these to be what might be termed 'pseudo-transpositions', that is, word order varied on another principle altogether. When all occurrences of the name Zedekiah are collected, they fall into just three categories:

A.	צדקיהו מלך יהודה	a.	(ὁ) Σεδεκιας βασιλεὺς Ιουδα[54]
		b.	(ὁ) βασιλεὺς Σεδεκιας[55]
		c.	Ζεδεκιας[56]
B.	המלך צדקיהו	b.	ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκιας[57]
		c.	Σεδεκιας[58]
		d.	ὁ βασιλεὺς[59]
C.	צדקיהו	a.	Σεδεκιας βασιλεὺς Ιουδα (21.3 only)
		c.	Σεδεκιας[60]
		d.	ὁ βασιλεὺς;[61] αὐτός;[62] G >[63]

The first thing that stands out from this list is that the same three ways, and only these three ways, of writing the name 'Zedekiah' in the Hebrew of M are found in the Greek of G.[64] (References to Zedekiah in M consisting of simply המלך or the relative pronoun are never translated

54. 21.7; 24.8; 51[28].59; 27.3, 12 [34.2, 10]; 28[35].1; 36[29].3; 34[41].2, 4; 39[46].1; 44[51].30. In 34[41].21, τὸν Σεδ. βασιλέα τῆς Ιουδαίας.
55. 32[39].1, 3; 34[41].6. In 49.34b [26.1a], Σεδεκιου βασιλεὺς.
56. 32[39].4.
57. 21.1; 34[41].8; 37[44].3; 52.5 (+ ל).
58. 37[44].1, 17. In v. 1, M reads וימלך מלך צדקיהו (no article with מלך), and *BHS* suggests that dittography is responsible for מלך. If this is correct, this verse would move to category C. Even without this consideration the verse belongs apart as it calls Zedekiah בן יאשיהו, a title only found here and at 1.3.
59. 37[44].18, 21; 38[45].5, 14, 16, 19.
60. 1.3; 32[39].5; 39[46].2; 52.1, 10, 11.
61. 38[45].15, 24 (transposition + αὐτῷ for ירמיהו).
62. 38[45].17 (transposition + αὐτῷ for צדקיהו); 52.8.
63. 39[46].4, 5, 6, 7; 52.3.
64. The one exception to this observation is G 49.34b[26.1a] Σεδεκιου βασιλέως, whose anomalous order looks corrupt (the half-verse in question is itself displaced in G from the beginning of the Elam oracle to its end, and would thus seem to have suffered in other ways).

in G by Σεδεκιας.) In the light of this pattern, it is clearly an over-simplification to deduce in 32.1, 3 that M has transposed G and expanded (or that G has transposed M and abbreviated). If there has been a mechanical change, it is more likely a replacement of one set phrase with another: the one-step replacement of a 'category A' name with a 'category B' name (or vice versa).

Secondly, there is no neat pattern of correspondence between any given Hebrew phrase and any given Greek phrase.[65] Thus in categories B and C, צדקיהו occurs in M over and above what is in G (though see n. 58). But in category A, the extra term (when there is one) is יהודה. Is M trying to eliminate ambiguity (categories B and C), or standardize a variety of expressions into one stock phrase (category A)? Any analysis that tries to show on the large scale how one of the versions developed from the other runs into trouble. But there is still the question of context to deal with.

Thirdly, it should be noted that when the king's name is not used, M and G almost always correspond. For example, the phrase מלך יהודה is nearly always translated βασιλεὺς Ιουδα, with correspondence of number.[66] The only exception to this is 32[39].2, where G is shorter. The same goes for the unadorned title המלך. There are only 3 isolated omissions in G,[67] with ὁ βασιλεὺς rendering it over 40 times. Nearly all these are in chs. 36–38[43–45]. It seems to be the individual person rather than his office that M desires to bring to prominence.[68]

The fourth feature of note is the concentration of readings into five passages (an expected situation matching the extended narratives involving Zedekiah). In the following table A/a, B/b, C/c and d refer to the categories in the list above.

65. It is simpler to try to account for M in terms of development from LXXV than vice versa, since a theory of LXXV 'toning down' would involve both a greater variety of alternatives for each type of name, and a less frequent exercising of the toning-down option. See further Stipp 1994: 87-88; Migsch 1996: 326-29.

66. It is sg. in 21.11; 22.1, 6; 37[44].7; 38[45].22; pl. in 1.18; 8.1; 17.19, 20; 19.3, 4, 13; 20.5; 22.2; 33[40].4; 44[51].9; G om. in 27.18, 21. Only the sg. references are comparable to our passage, particularly those, underlined in the list, that speak of בית מלך יהודה.

67. 26[33].21; 38[45].8, 9. There are two more omissions when God is the referent.

68. The treatment of מלך בבל is similar: it is translated fully 44 times, and omitted six times (with a further six omissions of whole verses).

21.1-10			32[39].1-5			34[41].1-8			37[44]			38[45]		
v.	G	M	v.	G	M	v.	G	M	v.	G	M	v.	G	M
1	b	B	1	b	A	2	a	A	1*	c	B or C	5	d	B
3	a	C	3	b	A	4	a	A	3	b	B	14	d	B
7	a	A	4	c	A	6	b	A	17	c	B	15	d	C
			5	c	C	8	b	B	18	d	B	16	d	B
									21	d	B	17	αὐτῷ	C
												19	d	B
												24	d	C

*Both M and G add 'son of Josiah'.

Except for 21.3, M is always as full as, or fuller than, G. But there is no consistent pattern to the correlation of terms in the two versions. One conclusion would be that M expands G, but haphazardly.[69] This is a necessary conclusion only if it is assumed that we are considering a purely textual phenomenon. If we suppose, however, that literary factors are involved, the apparent randomness produced by a mechanical, textual treatment disappears. Both authors/editors had a palette of titles to choose from, and they used this palette for the effect they wanted. M uses stronger colours, so to speak, but his outlines often have the same shape. Thus in chs. 34 and 36 both M and G grade down from fuller to lighter terms for the king as the narrative progresses, whereas in ch. 21 they grade up. Chapters 37–38 are a different sort of writing, being a long continuous narrative rather than oracles in a narrative setting, and so show more homogeneous forms of expression. G is a more conventional narrative style than M, beginning with explicit references that highlight Zedekiah, and then shifting the focus from his person to his words and actions. However, M too has its fullest identification of the king in v. 1.

If a second edition of the book had been produced, based on the first edition but with a different audience in mind, then we ought to be following the contours of each edition in its own right, asking ourselves what the effect of their use of names is on the passage in question. I conclude, in the case of the name Zedekiah, that it is impossible to account for the pattern of terms in either M or G as having arisen from the other version by either mechanical changes (of expansion or abbreviation) during transmission, or by a consistently applied editorial policy of substitution. The only purely *textual* explanation possible is that of

69. Janzen's treatment lends itself to such a conclusion (1973: 69-75, 139-55).

McKane (1986) and Reimer (1993), that there was a lengthy, haphazard process of 'growth' (McKane) or 'development' (Reimer). Yet the pattern of variants is not entirely haphazard, either, so that I prefer a literary explanation.

In fact, M shows differences in about 40 per cent of all the names in G across the five passages we have considered. This could suggest that M is not driven by an agenda concerning Zedekiah alone, but simply has a style that makes use of fuller titles. On the other hand, heightened references to other characters are confined to particular sections: of the five passages referred to above, Nebuchadrezzar is more prominent in M only in 21.1-10, and Jeremiah is more prominent in M only in chs. 37–38.[70] Zedekiah, however, is consistently brought to greater prominence. Thus there seem to be two factors operating: a general tendency to use proper names for rhetorical purposes, and a particular focus on Zedekiah—perhaps with a specific audience in mind.

3.6.2. *Verbal Aspect and Translation Technique*

In this section two potentially related variants in v. 2 are considered together.

3.6.2.1 ואז | καὶ (v. 2). While Kennicott MS 92, one Tg text (*Biblia Rabbinica*) and Vg lack the conjunction, only G lacks the adverb. The only non-Hexaplaric MS to add τότε is 62,[71] a poorly written and error-prone MS (Ziegler, 83).

אז is used seven times in Jeremiah, but G renders it only thrice (11.18; 22.22; 31[38].13, all by τότε). Of the remainder, 11.15 is corrupt in M,[72] and 22.15, 16 are probably secondary in M,[73] so that 44[51].18 is the only useful parallel: ומן־אז חדלנו | καὶ ὡς διελίπομεν. This is a

70. Three out of four references to Nebuchadrezzar in M 21.1-10 are absent or less marked in G (=3/4). For the other passages the figures are 4/18. For Jeremiah the figures are 19/36 in chs. 37–38, and 2/8 for the rest. Compare Diamond's conclusions about the confessions (1990: 35): compared with LXXV, M 'attempts to fix the meaning of the confession in reference to the prophetic individual, Jeremiah'.

A full study of the title 'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon' has shown similar results in terms of 'grading down' in both versions, with the terms used in M occasionally tending to be heavier.

71. *O*-Q^{mg} α´ 86 add τότε *sub asterisco*.

72. Holladay 1986: 348; Barthélemy 1986: 558.

73. אז טוב appears nowhere else in the OT, and Stipp (1994: 81) lists this as evidence for a distinctive idiolect in the M pluses of Jeremiah.

clear example of the translator's willingness to depart from lexical and quantitative literalness in order to convey the sense of the original: However, where מן־אז in 44[51].18 (elsewhere, מאז) demands a 'dynamic equivalent', such as ὡς, μετὰ τὸ (Gen. 39.5), ἀφ' οὗ (Exod. 5.23), etc., אז in 32[39].2 does not.

The other noteworthy parallel is Jer. 51[28].59, in which a *WGF* variant is followed by three circumstantial clauses that lead in turn into a narrative (*wayyiqtol*). The circumstantial clauses are rendered:

בלכתו...	ὅτε ἐπορεύετο...
בשנת הרבעית...	ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ...
ושריה שר מנוחה	καὶ Σαραίας ἄρχων δώρων.

Note that G has pushed all three clauses into the background by using an impf. for the inf. in the first clause and a ptc. to render the last (verbless) clause. In 32[39].2, however, where the equivalent of the third clause of 51[28].59 is ואז...צרים, G rendered the ptc. as an aor., thereby putting the clause on to the mainline of communication. One might argue that the presence of אז in LXXV has led to such an equivalence, as the inclusion of a temporal adverb makes the break between vv. 1 and 2 more marked. This might also help to explain the unusual lack of consistency in verbal aspect in G's rendering of the two participles of v. 2 (as discussed below).

However, this does not take into account the fact that the aor. causes v. 2 to lose its sense of temporal circumstance. I shall argue in the next section that G wields verbal aspect in the interests of fidelity to the original, and, although the absence of אז in LXXV would not significantly affect the meaning of the verse in Hebrew,[74] it does pave the way for the choice of aor. by G without obvious unfaithfulness.

Further, the choice of aor. for צרים should not be made too much of, given the frequent inconsistencies in G's choice of verbal aspect. In the parallel passages 21.2; 34[41].1, for example, the equivalent Hebrew participles (from לחם in both cases) are rendered by pf. and impf. verbs respectively.

It is thus more probable that אז is a secondary addition in M,[75] made to improve the flow and structure of the passage. Certainly it gives a smoother result than that found in 51.59.

74. Cf. Migsch 1996: 113 n. 12.

75. So Workman 1889: 347; Bogaert 1995: 55.

3.6.2.2 היה כלוא | ἐφυλάσσετο (v. 2). This could be a somewhat free rendering, following the sense of the clause rather than its form, except that, in all other cases where G translates היה + ptc., it includes a form of εἰμί. Workman retroverts to *כלוא alone (1889: 347, followed by Migsch 1996: 274-82). Some assessment of translation technique is called for.

First, we note how G translates the Hebrew pass. ptc. When the pass. ptc. is used predicatively in a main clause, G uses a finite verb (e.g. 36[43].5 אני עצור | ἐγὼ φυλάσσομαι [pres.]; 49.14[29.15] וציר...שלוח | καὶ ἀγγέλους ἀπέστειλε [aor.]).[76] The choice of aspect is often free, following the sense rather than the form (e.g. 50[27].33 where the ptc. עשוקים is rendered by a pf., though in the parallel clause the verb is החזיקו, translated as aor.).

Secondly, note that if LXXV v. 2 had read ו[אז] חיל מלך בבל צרים...וירמיהו כלוא*, we would ask how G renders a progression of two or more participles. By and large in such cases, G is faithful in rendering ptc. for ptc. (17.10; 20.12; 32[39].18; 33[40].9, etc.), but finite verbs are also used (pres. 7.17-18; fut. 14.12; impf. 38[45].22). Further, G is not always consistent in its choice of verbal aspect. Thus it uses aor....aor. in 10.12, but pres....pres. in the formally identical 11.20. And occasionally it is inconsistent within the same verse.[77] The best example of this is 32[39].42:

כאשר הבאתי	hi. pf.	aor. ind.	καθὰ ἐπήγαγον
כן אנכי מביא	hi. ptc.	fut. ind.	οὕτως ἐγὼ ἐπάξω
אשר אני דבר	qal ptc.	aor. ind.	ἃ ἐλάλησα

This is a case of G highlighting the main clause by using fut. and demoting the others by using aor., which achieves the same rhetorical shape as M—albeit more pronounced—and at the expense of dulling the aspectual colour of the original x-*qatal*, x-ptc., x-ptc. It provides an interpretation of the verse's meaning that is logical, but also somewhat free (cf. NRSV, 'Just as I have brought..., so I will bring upon them all ...that I now promise them'). One might call this 'discourse literalism'.

This feature of the translation militates against Migsch's view (1996:

76. In subordinate clauses G will translate a pass. ptc. using a ptc. (33[40].1, 4), or a non-verbal equivalent (40[47].1 prep. + noun; 48[31].10 adj.).

77. Two other examples are 4.15, where G has pres. ptc. + fut....fut., and 8.6, where the translator seems to have misread his *Vorlage* (so Streane 1896: 106-107) and rendered freely from then on.

275) that a sequence aor....impf. reveals a misunderstanding, or at least a mistreatment, of the Hebrew formation ptc....ptc. To Migsch, such a translation changes a pair of co-temporal subordinate clauses into two independent clauses, because the impf. moves the action into the background (cf. p. 275, n. 14) and breaks the link to the previous clause. He refers to 34[41].1b, 7, where G also uses impf. for a co-temporal *w*=subj.-ptc. clause. However, given that both these verbal forms (i.e. impf. in Greek and *w*=subj.-ptc. in Hebrew) are used to express subordination and circumstance, G 32[39].2b seems an appropriate and characteristic rendering, even of a *Vorlage* lacking היה.[78]

Thirdly, we must consider the tenses chosen in 32[39].2. If LXXV v. 2 contained *w*=subj.-ptc., *w*=subj.-ptc., we would have two parallel clauses, with neither subordinate to the other: 'and the army was surrounding..., and Jeremiah was confined'. In rendering these with aor....impf., G has bracketed off the second clause, turning it into an aside. Such flexibility with aspect does occur, as we have seen, but when it does happen, the reason is clear from the context. Such would not be the case here: given the fact that vv. 1, 6 establish Jeremiah as the centre of interest, it would be unprecedented for G to sideline him where LXXV had not.

The final question is whether M v. 2 is an impossible *Vorlage*. The clause in v. 2a (ו[אז]...צרים) is clearly one of concomitant circumstance,[79] but there are two ways of analysing the clause וירמיהו [הנביא] היה כלוא:

(1) Taking היה as the main verb gives *w=x-qatal*, in which case the ptc. is a complement, and, given the context (Jeremiah is the primary subject), the inversion of word order denotes past circumstances ('Jeremiah had been confined'), or perhaps a synchronism.[80] Much the same conclusions come out of the schemata of textlinguists, such as Niccacci, whether we speak in terms of salience (*w=x-qatal* marks background) or perspective (*w=x-qatal* marks recovered information).[81] This is true, in fact, for both discourse and narrative.

78. Besides, to consider that the intrusion of an impf. form between two aor. forms turns all three into 'islands' (Migsch 1996: 275) seems too strong. See further §2.3.1 n. 67. Another example of 'discourse literalism' involving a progression from aor. to impf. is 39[46].1.

79. E.g. Williams, §494. This is irrespective of whether אז is present.

80. Williams, §§495, 573.

81. Niccacci, §§3, 16, 51.

(2) Taking כלוא as the main verb gives *w*=subj.-היה-ptc., in which case היה is included to make the ptc. in the circumstantial clause explicitly temporal, perhaps with durative sense: '[during this period] Jeremiah was confined'.[82]

Thus, either way, we have a chain of two clauses in which the second is attendant upon the first. The Greek progression of aor....impf. achieves exactly the same effect, by bracketing the second clause out of the mainline as a circumstantial statement. Alternatively, the choice of an impf. could be an attempt to reflect the added durative. Viewed either way, M as it stands provides a better *Vorlage* for G than does M without היה. The only problem is our expectation of a periphrastic construction in G.

Similar constructions are found in five other places, only one of which is a *w=x-qatal* construction (the others involve *w=x-yiqtol*).[83] As usual, we see flexibility in the choice of verbal aspect. This includes the choice of Greek ptc. (pf. in 36.30, but pres. in the formally equivalent 50.3), as well as Greek היה-equivalent.[84] Nonetheless 32[39].2 is the only example of a translation lacking εἰμί or γίνομαι for היה. A periphrastic construction, such as *ἦν φυλασσόμενος in 32[39].2, would have achieved the same effect as ἐφυλάσσετο: why then was it not used if the *Vorlage* contained היה? This is a valid objection, yet in the end constructions of this form are rare in Jeremiah, and dogmatism is inadvisable.

I retrovert cautiously to *היה כלוא, simply because G can be fitted to such a *Vorlage* rather more easily than to *כלוא. Together with the fact that היה כלוא is a form of words we know to exist, this outweighs the evidence against such a translation, especially given the translator's lack of stereotyping when it comes to questions of verb choice.

82. Williams, §213; JM, §121f; DG, §113 *Rem. 2*.

83. *w=x-yiqtol*: 14.16; 18.21; 36[43].30; 50[27].3; *w=x-qatal*: 26.20. Excluded are cases where LXXV lacks a ptc. (18.23 [cf. Streane 1896: 158]; 26.18), or where the ptc. following היה is merely attributive (30.16).

84. Compare 18.21 ואנשיהם יהיו הרגי | καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν γενέσθωσαν ἀνῃρημένοι, i.e. aor. imv., and 20.14 אל יהי ברוך | μὴ ἔστω ἐπευκτή, i.e. pres. imv. + noun. Neither of these is a proper periphrastic construction, and the second example is actually a copular construction whose ptc. is nominal in force, but they do demonstrate the willingness of the translator to supply the verb form that best fits the semantic force of the original verb. In these cases the duration of the action has been conveyed at the expense of consistency in representing one particular form of היה.

By way of conclusion it seems that there are two separate issues involved in v. 2. The absence of אז from LXXV has no bearing on the way G has rendered the two participles. Rather, we have an addition in the M tradition in the interests of the text's structure and flow, and a creative use of verbal aspect by the translator in the interests of 'discourse literalism'.

3.6.3. *Transmission Error and Compensatory Renditions*

3.6.3.1 ובבל יולך את צדקיהו | καὶ εἰσελεύσεται Σεδεκιας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα (v. 5). There are three problems here that I shall take in order: the change of subject, the translation of the verb, and the word order.

(1) Many scholars believe that there is an awkward change of subject in M. Yet this would not be the case if the king of Babylon had already become the subject of the action at ודבר in v. 4. At first sight it may seem more natural to continue with the subject of the previous verb, since ודבר is not marked in any way. Most translations read, '[Zedekiah] will be given into the hand of the king of Babylon and [Zedekiah] shall speak.'[85] But several factors militate against this.

First, there is no rule that the subject cannot change from one verb to another in such a construction as this. Secondly, there is precedent for just such a change in v. 3, where the king of Babylon takes over from the Lord as subject. The clauses are very similar:

v. 3	ולכדה	ביד מלך בבל	הנני נתן ...
v. 4	ודבר	ביד מלך בבל	הנתן ינתן

Thirdly, there is an abrupt, unambiguous, change of subject in v. 5: את צדקיהו ושם יהיה. This completes an oracle in which, if my argument is correct, each time an individual is named he immediately becomes the subject of the action. This applies to YHWH, Zedekiah and the king of Babylon, but not to the amorphous 'Chaldeans'. Fourthly, the verb in question refers to speech between greater and lesser personages. It would be surprising if it were Zedekiah the defeated captive who was the speaker in such a situation. Finally, the parallel in 34.3 reverses the verbs of seeing and speaking, and makes Zedekiah's eyes the subject of תראינה, and the king of Babylon's mouth the subject of ידבר. Thus we have an explicit change of subject (preceded by the new subject's name)

85. E.g. NIV, NRSV, and—by their treatment of v. 5—NEB, NJPSV.

before the verb of speaking, suggesting an implicit change of subject in 32.5.

What of G? The unusual syntax of v. 5a could lie behind the different subject (Zedekiah, not Nebuchadrezzar).[86] But G uses εἰς, showing that it interprets בבל as directive.[87] The real problem is the verb.

(2) הלך hi. is an unusual choice: this is the only time Zedekiah is subject or object of the verb, and the only other parallel is 52.26, where Judaean officials are 'led' to the king of Babylon and put to death.[88] However, moving from text to context, it does fit well in M, stressing as it does Zedekiah's impotence, and preparing the way for v. 5b.

Regarding its translation by εἰσελεύσεται, there are three possibilities: (a) A different *Vorlage*. Given that εἰσέρχομαι in Jeremiah translates בוא in 36 of 38 cases,[89] Migsch (1996: 333-34) retroverts to ובא *צדקיהו בבל. (b) A defective spelling in LXXV (*ילך for יולך), rendered as הלך qal. In this case את could well have been taken as nominative.[90] The equivalence הלך qal | εἰσέρχομαι is rare, however, being found only in Judg. 20.8; Ezek. 37.21, so one would wish for additional support for such a *Vorlage*. (c) LXXV = M. This would appear a dubious translation of הלך hi., but as Streane (1896: 220) remarks, 'This may be an example of O′′s tendency...to use the same Greek verb for the rendering of Ḳal and of other voices indifferently.' Moreover, the three other occurrences of הלך hi. in Jeremiah that appear in G are rendered

86. Although the syntax is unusual, it is rhetorically effective, and Migsch's argument (1996: 331-33), that *Kohärenzstörungen* between vv. 4 and 5a and between 5a and 5b are evidence of a reworking of the text, is unconvincing. He assumes (n. 31) that, because the verbs are all 3.m.sg., an identity of subject exists between the first two clauses of v. 4 and the first clause of v. 5 on the level of what is expressed ('auf der Ausdrucksseite'). However, the entire reported speech of Jeremiah in vv. 3b-5 makes good sense if treated as I have done, making the subject of the verbs in v. 4 (דבר, הראינה) the king of Babylon.

87. See JM (§125n) on the accusative of motion, where the acc. can be placed before the verb for emphasis. Rothstein's emendation to *ûbābèlā jēlēk* (1922: 813) is unnecessary.

88. The other uses of הלך hi. are 2.6, 17; 31.9. God is the subject of these, and the context is positive.

89. εἰσέρχομαι for היה in Jer. 30[37].20 suggests corruption or a different *Vorlage*. Streane (1896: 210) calls G 'Midrashic'.

90. Ben Shesheth (1871: 19) allows the possibility of such a function for את in 33.24, citing Qimḥi. For recent discussions see Macdonald (1964); Saydon (1964); Waltke (§10.3).

by ἄγω (52.26), αὐλίζομαι (31[38].9), καθοδηγέω (2.6). Such wide variation could tip the benefit of doubt in favour of a free translation, and makes option (b) or (c) possible. At any rate, retroversion to בוא is unnecessary; that it is also unlikely I hope to show when considering the verse as a whole.

(3) The transposition could once again go back to difficulty with the verb: a problem clause has been translated in unmarked, unambiguous fashion by shifting the indirect object to the end. However, the case here is far from clear-cut, and the possibility that LXXV is original must be considered. A question of this kind is literary, not textual: the word order in each version will be seen to contribute to its literary shape, and an argument for an original order will cut both ways. Thus, for example, compared with the stress on Zedekiah's impotence in M, G does not magnify Zedekiah's doom. G v. 5 moderates v. 4 somewhat, and leaves the future open. Both the verb used and its subject, as well as the word order, contribute to this.

3.6.3.2 יהיה | καθιεῖται (v. 5). This could be an attempt to convey an unusual meaning of היה, but it is the only time in the entire Septuagint that היה is translated this way. ישב is the only other word for which καθίζω is used in Jeremiah,[91] but neither of these possibilities is really satisfactory.

(1) ישב in this context must be classed as anomalous (*pace* Stipp 1997: 198). Excluding the cs. ptc. ישבי, the verb is used about 100 times in Jeremiah, with well-defined shades of meaning. In the context of judgment, it carries the sense that a place judged by God becomes 'without inhabitant'[92]—like the wilderness.[93] The converse situation pertains as well: the future recipients of God's promise will dwell in their own land.[94] This is strongly linked with present submission to Babylon.[95] (The word also has an everyday use, largely confined to

91. Except for 49[29].18 in some MSS (including A), which give καθίζω for גור.

92. The place concerned may be the city (22.6; 26.9; 33.10; 34.22; 44.2); Israel (2.15); Judah (4.7, 29; 6.8; 9.10); other nations (46.19; 48.9, 43; 49.18, 33; 50.3, 13, 39, 40; 51.29, 37, 43, 62). Cf. also 10.17; 21.9; 38.2; 24.8; 29.16, etc.

93. 2.6; 9.26; 17.6; 22.6.

94. 23.8; 25.5; 31.24; 32.37; 35.15; cf. 30.18; 33.10; 35.7, 9, 10.

95. 27.11; 29.5, 28; 38.2; 40.9, 10. Chs. 42–44 make clear that 'dwelling' in Egypt jeopardizes this hope (42.10, 13, 14; 43.4; 44.1, 14, 15, 26).

legal situations.)[96] In short, the use of ישב in this context would imply that Zedekiah was being aligned with the hopeful future of the nation by dwelling with the exiles, where the context makes it clear that he is doing everything possible to blight his future—in particular, not submitting to the Babylonian king.

(2) היה does sometimes have the sense of 'abide; remain; continue'.[97] However, it gains this sense from being paired with a word of place or time,[98] or following temporal עד and meaning 'remain until'.[99] Furthermore, the Septuagint in these cases uses εἰμί (or occasionally, γίνομαι, e.g. Judg. 17.4). In Jer. 1.3, היה with עד in this sense is rendered γίνομαι. Thus, even the fact that Jer. 27[34].22aβ (absent in G) and 32[39].5 use היה with עד does not suggest that καθιεῖται is a proper rendition in 32.5. For not only does היה in LXXV lack the companion word needed to give it the sense 'remain', but, even if it had such a word, the Septuagint never renders the combination in this way.

(3) If the translator's exemplar stopped after יהיה, suggesting that the sentence had been cut short, a change of verb away from the literal ἔσται would be a way of making sense of what remained. The fact that A-106′ *C*′-239-613 Arab[100] have ἀποθανεῖται[101] at this point suggests scribal difficulties with the verse. Unless converse translation[102] underlies the majority reading (i.e. LXXV = *מות), which seems unlikely given the uncontroversial fact of Zedekiah's mortality and the subsequent reference to his death in 34[41].5, היה is the verb most likely to have given rise to the variety of readings.[103] In other words, the evidence of this

96. 26.10; 32.12; 36.12, 15; 38.7; 39.3. It is also used of Jeremiah's varied living conditions (37.16, 21; 38.13, 28; 39.14; 40.5, 6), and sometimes of the king who 'sits' on David's throne (22.2, 4, 23; 33.17; 36.30).

97. *BDB*, 226b. Cf. Holladay 1986: 213.

98. Exod. 24.18; 34.28; Judg. 17.4, 12; 1 Sam. 6.1; 2 Kgs 11.3 = 2 Chron. 22.12; Ruth 1.2; also Lev. 22.27; 25.8, etc.

99. Deut. 22.2; 1 Kgs 11.40; 2 Kgs 15.5; 2 Chron. 5.9; 26.21; Dan. 1.21, etc.; cf. Eccl. 3.14. Cf. Barr 1961: 69-71.

100. The C group reading is probably dependent on A (Soderlund 1985: 79), which commonly has unique and revisional readings, none of which follow M (p. 90).

101. B has καθίεται (a form distinctive to that MS, e.g. Deut. 21.13; Ps. 28.10; Zech. 6.13; Isa. 16.5), which Taylor parses as fut. midd. of κάθημαι. Thackeray (1903: 271-72) groups κάθημαι and καθίζω together.

102. Cf. Klein 1976; Hayward, 25.

103. Migsch (1996: 337) assumes that LXXV = ישב was original, and that the

verse, combined with the problems of v. 6 (see below), makes it probable that the *Vorlage* of G has in this case been shortened, cut off after יהיה.

3.6.3.3 עד פקדי...תצליחו (v. 5aβ-b). The first phrase in particular has been much debated, due to the ambiguity of פקד (used both *in malam* and *in bonam partem*) and the lack of information concerning Zedekiah's fate in Babylon. In this context פקד is probably positive, or possibly intentionally ambiguous, as Applegate argues (1998: 153-56).[104] Whether LXXV included v. 5b is very difficult to say.

Word-equivalents provide little assistance: 'ἐπισκέπομαι and its related nouns reflect a semantic development that is an exact parallel to what took place in *pāqad* and some other roots.'[105] In 15.15; 29[36].10 the translator conveys the full positive sense of פקד as used there, so that *פקד in 32[39].5 could have been read positively by a translator. Giesebrecht (1894: 176), assuming a positive sense, argues that G omitted the phrase because it was not fulfilled.[106] Janzen (1973: 104)

changes in A-106′ etc. and M were aimed at making the verse more pointed, but this does not in fact account for היה in M, much as it may tally with other features of M v. 5.

104. See the discussion in Begg (1987: 114-15). פקד as punishment would refer to Zedekiah's death (the Jewish commentators, according to Freedman [1949: 215]; cf. Schreiner [1984: 191]; Mulzac [1995: 197]). It probably means blessing, however, as פקד את in Jeremiah is always used favourably (Bogaert 1995: 65 n. 17). As blessing it could yet refer to Zedekiah's death—though he would die in Babylon it is not impossible that he died a free man, released from captivity (so Migsch 1996: 339 n. 50; cf. Rudolph 1967: 208; Carroll 1986: 622)—or to Nebuchadrezzar's death, or even to Zedekiah's restoration (by appeal to 29.10—though see Jones [1992: 407]—and 27.21-22; so Giesebrecht). Many who see Zedekiah's restoration here take it at face value and argue from its non-correspondence with historical reality that it must be original (Hitzig 1866; cf. Bright 1965: 237). Finally, Lowth's interpretation seems to have been forgotten (1718: 279): '*...till I visit him*] In his Posterity, whom I will restore to their own Country. So GOD tells *Jacob, I will...bring thee up again, Gen.* xlvi.4. which Promise was made good only to his Posterity.' Scott (1823: 3B) disagreed on the basis of 22.28-30; 41.10; 43.6, but no one has since taken up this possibility.

105. Gehman 1972: 207.

106. Giesebrecht (1894: 176), followed by a majority since, took M to refer to Zedekiah's restoration (see n. 104). However, it is specious to argue from the parallel in 29[36]:10 that פקד in our verse suggests a return to Judah for the king, as 29:10 makes clear that this return will be after 70 years—well beyond Zedekiah's

disagrees, ‘since this view leaves unexplained the 𝔊 omission of v. 5b’. He treats M v. 5b as a gloss because it is ‘anticlimactic’, but one would desire a more objective basis than this for such a decision.[107] The case that the plus is secondary in M would be better made from parallel passages.

3.6.3.4 The several problems discussed here are best brought together in the light of the two parallels to v. 5 in Jeremiah, namely 27[34].22 and 34[41].3 (text definitely common to M and LXXV is underlined):

27.22	בבלה יובאו ושמה יהיו עד יום פקדי אתם נאם יהוה
	εἰς Βαβυλῶνα εἰσελεύσεται λέγει κύριος
32.5	ובבל יולך את צדקיהו ושם יהיה עד פקדי אתו נאם יהוה
	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται Σεδ. εἰς Βαβ. καὶ ἐκεῖ καθιεῖται
34.3	ובבל תבוא
	καὶ εἰς Βαβυλωνα εἰσελεύσῃ

Immediately apparent is the common use of εἰσελεύσεται in G. Only here is εἰσελεύσεται used for going to Babylon;[108] ἔρχομαι or (εἰσ) ἄγω are the usual choices.[109] Let us consider the possibility that G is a stereotyped translation of LXXV, which is original, and from which M developed. LXXV would contain בוא in each verse, and would be verb-initial in 32[39].5, with *ישב underlying καθιεῖται. In that case, M 32.5 and 27.22 could have arisen by a conflation of the last clauses of the respective LXX *Vorlagen*, plus the addition of the common פקד clause. This type of conflating, harmonizing activity is considered typical of the reviser’s work in M (so Janzen 1973; Migsch 1996). A change from *ישב to היה would further increase the similarity between the verses. However, this reconstruction faces two obstacles. (1) If the reviser behind M was trying to make these verses more similar, why did he

lifetime. To sustain this line of argument it is necessary to suppose that the author confused the fates of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, or to appeal to ‘midrashic’ traditions (as do Duhm 1901: 261; Begg 1987). But any other positive fate surrounding Zedekiah is hidden from us, making Giesebrecht’s line hard to hold.

107. Two justifications for v. 5b suggest themselves: (1) it brings the digression back to the present in preparation for the following narrative; (2) it recalls 1.19 and the promise that Jeremiah’s enemies will not prevail against him, making for an effective *double entendre*.

108. It is used of going to Egypt in 26[33].21; 41[48].17; 42[49].14, 18, 19; 43[50].2, 7, 11.

109. 20.5; 24.1; 27[34].11, 12; 40[47].4; chs. 50–51[27–28] *passim*.

change *בוא to הלך? It is more likely that LXXV had *הלך, and that G produced a piece of contextual exegesis.[110] In that case, the retention of הלך by M would be a result of recognizing Zedekiah as the object of the verb, and the harmonization in G would be consistent with taking Zedekiah for the subject. Neither possibility (M changing *בוא away from 27.22, or G exegeting *הלך) helps to explain an original *ישב.[111] (2) The other observation made of verses such as M 32.5 is that they show a tendency over against G to sharpen the focus on Zedekiah's doom.[112] And the initial word order in M, plus the addition of 32.5b, seem to bear this out. But this also makes the picture of harmonization by M hard to sustain. Why add a positive ending to one verse (27.22b) and a negative ending to the other (32.5b)? Why insert the positive פקד clause into 32.5 at all? An LXXV originally lacking that clause makes the growth of M hard to understand.

I conclude that in 27.22 the simplest explanation seems to be one of M expansion, especially in view of the nature of that passage as a whole. But in 32.5 the opposite is the case. Though it may be true that the majority of M pluses are genuine expansions over against LXXV, the clause beginning עד פקדי is an expansion neither from the immediate context, nor from a distant parallel. Rather than speculatively emending הלך, היה and the initial word order, I suggest that the simplest and most plausible reconstruction of LXXV 32[39].5 is as follows (with the words in brackets having dropped from the text of the translator's exemplar):

וילך את צדקיהו בבל ושם יהיה [עד פקדי אתו נאם יהוה]*

This *Vorlage* (a) is easily altered to the emphatic word order found in M, a typical stylistic change;[113] and (b) could equally easily have been translated by the form of words found in G, given the help that 27[34].22 and 34[41].3 provide. These verses present Zedekiah as subject, sug-

110. 'Translators created relationships between words not only when they occurred in the immediate context, but also when they occurred in remote contexts' (Tov 1997: 45). In order to find a context for the supposed change in M of בוא → הלך, Migsch (1996: 334) has to go as far afield as Deut. 28.36. Despite a general connection between Deut. 28 and Jeremiah (Sturdy 1980: 144-47), there are major differences between these verses (as Migsch concedes). Even the presence of הלך hi. in Deut. 28.36 is spoiled by its initial positioning.

111. *Pace* Stipp 1994: 80.

112. So Stulman 1984; cf. Applegate 1998.

113. For the reasons given earlier, this transposed word order is the least secure part of my retroversion.

gesting to a translator that *וילך be read *וַיֹּלֶךְ.[114] The same parallels offer εἰσελεύσεται for this translation. Though this is a rare correspondence, the use of הלך for going to captivity in Babylon is not (20.6; 22.22; 30[37].16, etc.). Further, (c) this provides M with a template for the expansion of LXXV 27[34].22a (assuming it to be as short as G); and finally, (d) the implausible use of καθιεῖται for יהיה is explained as the result of a *Vorlage* that had suffered from parablepsis by the time it reached the Greek translator. This reading makes good sense of the text's oddities, though a picture of development in both traditions combined with subsequent corruption in one of them is more complex than that often propounded by Jeremiah critics.[115] This carries us over into v. 6.

3.6.3.5 A close examination of v. 6 gives further credence to my understanding of G v. 5: I shall argue that the same corruption that led to a loss in LXXV v. 5b has extended to v. 6a. This goes against the grain of a general expansion theory for M, but the following considerations make transmission error likely:

(1) Stulman (1985: 79) provides the following reconstruction of LXXV over against M (M is shown only where it diverges; pluses in LXXV are underlined):

LXXV	(6)	ו יהי דבר יהוה אל <u>ירמיהו</u> לאמר
MT	(6)	יאמר ירמיהו היה אלי

His purposely conservative approach omits all minuses from the text even when haplography is probable, and follows M in the case of probable qualitative variants (pp. 9-10). Many other scholars have retroverted this way,[116] because it produces a distinctively Jeremianic formula.[117] The M reading is explained by literary criticism: the wording 'and Jeremiah said' of v. 6a makes a connection between the post-

114. The *wayyiqtol* form of הלך is used 17 times in Jeremiah (e.g. 28.11; 41.10, 15). Note the defectively spelled וַיֹּלֶךְ hi. 3.m.sg. in 52.26.

115. Some of Reimer's reconstructions show a similar pattern, e.g. 51[28].44b-49a (1993: 130-31).

116. E.g. Streane 1896: 220; Cornill 1895: 360. An exception is Ewald (1840: 161), who retroverts, ... ואל ירמיהו היה דבר יהוה. Duhm (1901: 261) takes up this solution, considering it the best way of salvaging a difficult position ('man...am Besten aus der Klemme zieht').

117. So Berridge 1970: 31, 66.

Deuteronomistic introduction and the report of 6b-15.[118] This assumes that there is a redactional seam at this point, but my study of the *WGF* has shown that this need not be the case. And even if it were correct, it would have little bearing on the text-critical problem, as all the elements of the chapter were in place before M and G took on separate identities.

Yet it is striking that when the 21 occurrences in M of the *WEF* Stulman has conjectured for LXXV are examined, all without exception are translated the same way: καὶ ἐγένετο [or ἐγενήθη] λόγος κυρίου πρός με [or Ιερεμιαν] λέγων.[119] The placing of ἐγενήθη after λόγος κύριου in 32[39].6 is a unique change of word order, and makes it seem unlikely that the formula in LXXV 32[39].6 was normal. Notice also that the attested *WEF* contains אלי | πρός με in every occurrence in Jeremiah 1–25, and—with two exceptions in G— ירמיהו | Ιερεμιαν in every occurrence thereafter. G is thus remarkable in two respects.

(2) Migsch (1996: 277, esp. n. 20) has also noticed this anomaly, and uses it to defend his retroversion in which, as is often the case, he concurs with Workman (1889) (M is shown where it diverges; #...# indicates a transposition):

LXXV (6) ו #דבר יהוה היה# אל ירמיהו לאמר
MT (6) יאמר ירמיהו היה דבר יהוה אלי

Migsch offers two justifications: (1) G v. 6 reflects a very rare *WEF* variant, and there are no reasonable grounds for excluding a corresponding reconstruction; (2) the position of λόγος κύριου, and the fact that the reflected *w=x-qatal* formation possesses a different function from *wayyiqtol,* makes it improbable that the translator has rendered 'freely'.

In principle, Migsch's concerns are valid, and we can and should look for a text-syntactical structure underlying and informing G, but in practice Migsch begs several questions. First, there is the question of the

118. Thiel 1981: 30. He retains אלי in his retroversion, however. Wanke (1989: 267) agrees, and adds (n. 28) that in G the whole of v. 6 is adapted to the redactional context (i.e. by changing the whole verse to the third person). For reactions to the view recently developed by Seitz (1989: 242) that 32.1-2*, 6-15 belong after ch. 37, see Schmid (1996: 88-89); Migsch (1996: 375-86).

119. So Jer. 1.4, 11, 13; 2.1; 13.3, 8; 16.1; 18.5; 24.4. Ιερεμιαν is substituted for με in 28.12; 29.30; 33.1, 19, 23; 34.12; 36.27; 37.6; 42.7 (lacks לאמר | λέγων); 43.8. In all these G agrees with M, except 32.26; 35.12: ירמיהו | με. Nevertheless, the formula is unchanged in word order.

accuracy of his retroversion. Secondly, there is the question of the translator's awareness of the syntactic structure of discourses in LXXV and his fidelity in transmitting them. This question raises again the role of literary analysis in textual criticism. I shall address these questions (and Migsch's two justifications) in reverse order.

The second justification Migsch gives for his retroversion, namely that the translator's appreciation of syntactic formation would make him unlikely to translate a 'marked' word order by an 'unmarked' one, is partially undermined by his previous analysis of v. 2. This is because the basic complaint Migsch makes of G v. 2 (in fact, of the whole chapter) is that the translator seems not to have recognized that LXXV had a discourse structure, which in this case must have agreed with the structure of M. Instead, he read LXXV as narrative and created a new text progression so as to iron out supposed unevennesses (p. 253).[120] If he was so incompetent (or free) with the syntax of the discourse as a whole (and v. 2 gives particular evidence of this, as I have argued), what is there to ensure his competence (or fidelity) at v. 6?

This syntactical line of argument is extended to the choice of the aor. of γίνομαι in G v. 6. Part of Migsch's thesis is that M v. 6 begins a section, but G v. 6 ends one (vv. 2-6).[121] And in his discussion of *WEF* statistics (p. 278 n. 21), he notes the rarity of the aor. ἐγενήθη in translating a *WEF* beginning with *wayyiqtol,* and suggests that it could be linked with an announcement made within a narrative. In G v. 6, he concludes, the aor. seems to have been used like this, as the narrative clauses of G vv. 2a and 2b demand a continuation. However, the cases are different: as Migsch himself points out, his retroversion is a case of the aor. ἐγενήθη used to translate a *WEF* beginning not with *wayyiqtol,* but with *w=x-qatal,* which is unique. But for his retroversion, it would be a nonexistent form. Moreover, we still have the problem that what the translator has supposedly failed to do at v. 2 (i.e. establish narrative coherence), he has managed at v. 6 with great subtlety.

In fact, I am convinced that the translator has not been incompetent at v. 2 (§2.3.1 n. 67), and that a syntactical study of M and G helps elucidate my retroversion no less than it does that of Migsch. This, of course, simply illustrates the indecisiveness of literary arguments when

120. 'Der LXX-Übersetzer habe die Redestruktur seines Vorlagetexts...ihn als "Erzählung" gelesen.'

121. Migsch seems subsequently to have changed his mind about this (1997: 320 n. 14).

it comes to assessing retroversions: almost any retroversion can be lent this sort of literary support. To do him justice, Migsch does not make the mistake of grounding his retroversion in a textlinguistic argument, and his second justification plays no more than a corroborative role in proving the reading he offers for LXXV.

This brings us to Migsch's first justification: that the word order in G reflects an unusual formula—presumably, therefore, an original formula. So far I have taken Migsch's retroversion at face value, but it will be plain by now that I cannot accept it. It is neither satisfactory in its own right, nor necessary, nor the simplest solution. Unfortunately, Migsch has developed the implications of his retroversion at length without satisfactorily accounting for its presence in the first place.[122] Despite his assertions to the contrary, there are eminently reasonable grounds for excluding a 'word for word' reconstruction, because if the text at v. 5 of the Greek exemplar was corrupt, some mechanism is required for this, and the obvious one also involves v. 6. And it follows that if this is the case, then there is no need to postulate either a unique *WEF*, a reworking of the *Vorlage* by the translator (incompetent at v. 2, clever at v. 6), or a hiatus at vv. 7-8.

(3) I propose that a parablepsis involving vv. 5b-6a passed into the exemplar used by the Greek translator: ושם יהיה...היה דבר יהוה. This involves the loss of from 30 to 53 letters (depending on whether v. 5 after נאם יהוה was present), which is well within the range of column widths represented by MSS from Qumran and the like, and suggests a skipped line.[123] Thus, the exemplar used by the translator gave vv. 5-6 as follows:

וילך את צדקיהו בבל ושם יהיה דבר יהוה אלי לאמר*

In this case, it is most likely that the translator read יהיה with the preceding words, supplying καθιεῖται to cover the awkwardness of a clause ending ושם יהיה.[124] καὶ and ἐγενήθη were added to aid the

122. As I have indicated, the *Vorlage* Migsch reconstructs is in some respects an awkward work, in the same way that G is awkward. Migsch has tried to show that LXXV vv. 2-6 was a better piece of writing than G, but even if he is correct to maintain that LXXV achieved a coherent unit here (see his helpful diagrams on pp. 255-61), he is still left with an awkward hiatus at vv. 7-8 in either version.

123. For example, Herbert's analysis of 4QSam[a] (1997: 88-89) shows column widths ranging from 85 to 130mm (approx. 40-70 letters) within a single scroll.

124. היה does sometimes end a sentence (Jer. 8.2 = 25.33; 48[31].34; 51[28].26, 62), but only after receiving a complement. It is possible that καθιεῖται was added

translation of an asyndetic and verbless v. 6, and the verb was inserted after the subject in order to avoid giving the impression that this was a normal *WEF*. Finally, the absence of ויאמר ירמיהו in LXXV would have made אלי ambiguous, given that Zedekiah is the only previous speaker in the chapter, and probably this prompted the translator to treat an original אלי as two words, אל י׳, an abbreviation for the name Jeremiah. Thus it seems likely that in the original LXXV tradition there was no jarring shift to the first person in v. 8. Whether or not this is what happened, G v. 8 remains problematic, and most scholars have followed M in v 6.[125]

Returning once more to Migsch, it will be clear that my version of LXXV is very different from his. In the three key readings of vv. 2a, 2b and 6, I concur only on the first, and my reconstructed narrative sequence runs w=subj.-ptc., w=subj.-ptc., *wayyiqtol,* that is, identical to that of M.[126] One result of this is that the only genuine hiatus in the discourse structure of either version—G v. 8—is done away with, or rather, judged the result of transmission error.

In brief, the evidence points to haplography in LXXV rather than expansion in M. The question about which the textual evidence gives least help is whether v. 5b was ever in LXXV. On this, see §5.4.3.

to complete the sense of a verse ending ושם, and יהיה was read as והיה. In favour of this is the fact that והיה is sometimes used in Jeremiah in the same way as ויהי would be in its place (3.9; 37.11; 38.28; 40.3; 48.39). Stipp reasons that these 'ungrammatical' uses of והיה do not reflect the spoken usage of the time of writing of the texts in question, but found their way in during the course of MS transmission. They are the result of the fact that copyists who spoke Aramaic and post-biblical Hebrew modernized the grammar of their exemplar (1991b: 512-13). If LXXV v. 6 did indeed begin with והיה, or was read that way, it would be suggestive of the work of a later copyist, thus fitting neatly with the hypothesis of haplography later in the course of transmission. However, despite these considerations, two factors make this reconstruction unlikely. The first is that whenever והיה is used like this, it is always rendered ἐγένετο. And the second is that this would leave us with the unsolved problem of the transposition in v. 6.

125. Cornill (1905: 360) is one of the minority that follows G. It would be surprising if LXXV read אל ירמיהו, since in every other variant of this type G has πρός με for M אל ירמיהו.

126. Migsch's original view was much closer to this (1981: 16): he proposed a homoioteleuton in LXXV v. 5, but extending only to the end of that verse. He even followed the word order of M v. 5a, arguing for an inner-Greek harmonization in G to 34[41].3-5. He has since retracted this position (1996: 333 n. 35).

3.6.4 *The Right of Redemption*

3.6.4.1 The problematic variants in vv. 7 and 8 are most conveniently examined together:

v. 7	כי לך משפט הגאלה לקנות	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν
v. 8d	כי לך משפט הירשה	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι
v. 8e	ולך הגאלה	καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος

There are three major problems here, as underlined. After discussing these three problems, I shall assess possible reasons for the text's appearance.

(1) משפט הגאלה | κρίμα παραλαβεῖν (v. 7). How did the translator understand גאלה? Why did he not use the 'correct' words ἀγχιστεία or λύτρον? The passage with the closest affinity to these verses is Ruth 4, where it is clear that the redeemer has the right, but not the obligation, to redeem. Thus גאלה in Ruth 4.6, 7 should be translated 'right of redemption'.[127] If the translator understood גאלה in the legal context of Jeremiah 32 in this way,[128] then the phrase משפט הגאלה לקנות (v. 7) should probably be understood as the (customary) law governing, or procedure involving, the right of redemption.[129] At any rate it looks as if G has been guided by the final term לקנות and has taken the phrase to refer to a procedure (which includes the purchase), an idea also suggested by the use of קנה in Ruth 4.4-5. To this end the verb παραλ-αμβάνω has the proper emphasis on taking into possession, as well as

127. Cf. Hubbard 1997: 791. In Lev. 25 four of the eight uses of גאלה clearly mean 'right of redemption' (vv. 29, 31, 32, 48), and the other four (vv. 24, 26, 51, 52) could be translated that way without straining the meaning of the passage. Indeed, despite prevailing scholarly opinion (Mettinger 1971: 8, with most scholars, holds גאלה to mean 'both the act itself, the right and the duty'), there is much to be said for a consistent rendition of this term: it is one of a class of legal terms in the *q^e^tullā* formation (Mettinger 1971), and is therefore likely to have had a reasonably precise meaning. Further, its only use is in these three legal passages and Ezek. 11.15 (Zimmerli 1969: 248). There are no Semitic cognates of any value for the debate (Ringgren 1973: 885). Westbrook's caution (1991: 58), 'We must...remember that the term *g'(w)lh* had not only several legal meanings but also had fairly general currency', probably does not apply in the case of this rather legal passage.

128. That a connection with Ruth was recognized in ancient times is shown by the body of witnesses who borrow a word unique to that book, inserting τῆς ἀγχιστείας after κρίμα (*O*-233 *L'C'* 239-613 46 Arm Q 86).

129. For this interpretation of משפט I am indebted to Richard Neville. Cf. KBR (s.v.).

suitable overtones within Jeremiah of inheritance. Indeed, given that its other uses translate ירש (49.1 [×2], 2), it should probably be rendered 'inherit' in this verse.

Nonetheless, we still have the problem that גאלה taken by itself is not strictly about inheritance. Given the tenor of this passage, it may be that the double term משפט הגאלה and its parallel משפט הירשה were discrete legal terms of Jeremiah's day, distinct from those of Leviticus and Ruth. Note also that one clause in v. 7 is balanced against two in v. 8, with the implication that the two combine to speak of the same reality as the one.[130] This suggests that the simple equation משפט הגאלה = הגאלה should be avoided.

Finally, it is worth noting that such a rendition may not have strayed away totally from the meaning of גאל, if indeed it can occasionally have the sense of 'acquire'.[131] In short, we seem to be dealing with a *terminus technicus*, and if the translator had trouble with משפט הגאלה, it appears that he was guided by the succeeding word.

(2) משפט הירשה | κρίμα κτήσασθαι (v. 8d). How did the translator understand ירשה? Why was κληρονομέω not used? Mettinger (1971: 8) says that in contrast to the connotations of נחלה ('inheritance, ancestral lot'), ירשה indicates a taking of possession on the basis of the expiry or dissolution of ownership rights.[132] It originally referred to the seizure of foreign land in war, but was later 'pacified'.[133]

To our eyes, κτήσασθαι is a strange choice.[134] It is certainly unique.

130. Either vv. 8d and 8e could be synonymous, or one clause could be adding extra information. Compare the way in which the location (Anathoth) is made more precise by the addition of extra information (Benjamin).

131. Ringgren (1973: 887) says of the meaning of גאל in Ps. 74.2 that it seems not to be about a restoration so much as an acquisition (so also Ruth 4.5b), though one might object that, since the verse alludes to the exodus, it is hard to avoid the idea of redemption proper. The question devolves upon the significance of the pairing of גאל with קנה.

132. 'die Inbesitznahme auf Grund von erloschenen oder auch zum Erlöschen gebrachten Eigentumsrechten' (from Horst 1961: 209).

133. Lohfink (1982: 963) defines the word slightly differently in the case of Jer. 32.8: 'Recht auf familiäre Grundbesitzsukzession', which Green translates, 'right of succession to a family's real property' (Lohfink 1990 [1982]: 376). Lohfink evidently gleans this definition from the context, but for the ancient translator who chose κτήσασθαι the idea of *taking* possession was certainly present.

134. Some MSS have replaced κτήσασθαι with παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν, from v. 7 (A-106′ Arab). Ziegler adopts the reading κτήσασθαι from B-S. There is much

At first sight, it suggests lexical levelling (from εἰς κτῆσιν, v. 7), but this is not the case. The natural choice would probably have been παραλαμβάνω, the commonest translation equivalent for ירש (ירשה occurs only here), and meaning 'to succeed to' and 'to inherit'.[135] However, it looks as though it has been avoided because it was already allocated to גאלה in v. 7, and if this is true, then lexical levelling has plainly been avoided. It is more probably a matter of lexical poverty.

Regarding the non-use of κληρονομέω, it must be admitted that the Septuagint translators generally made no distinction between ירשה, ירש and נחל, rendering them all with κληρονομέω-group words (cf. Lohfink 1982: 956). In Jeremiah, ירש is translated by G six times, with unusual variety: κληρονόμος (8.10), κυριεύω (30[37].3), παραλαμβάνω (thrice in 49[30].1-2), and λαμβάνω (32[39].23).[136] But two other Greek words do show stereotyped meaning in Jeremiah: κληρονομία and (κατα)κληρονομέω translate נחלה and נחל respectively and refer exclusively to the land or the nation (as God's 'inheritance');[137] and κτάομαι translates קנה, always in the context of a symbolic act.[138] This makes κληρονομέω inappropriate in v. 8d, as is λαμβάνω, which means 'take (violently)' in vv. 3, 28 (for לכד) and 23 (for ירש).[139]

variation in what scribes obviously found a problematic reading: την κληρονομιά *O*-Q^{mg}-233 *L´* Sa (vid.) Arm; η αγχιστεια *L´* Syh^{mg}.

135. 49[30].1—so LEH.

136. Thus the only use of ירש in the vicinity of 32.8 has Mettinger's 'original' meaning of the seizure of land in war, i.e. carries the sense of *taking*.

137. נחלה: 2.7; 3.19; 10.16; 12.7, 8, 9, 14, 15; 16.18; 50[27].11, 19; נחל: 3.18. Three others are G minuses, and the one use of נחל that falls outside the stereotyped meaning (16.19) is rendered with κτάομαι.

138. 13.1, 2; 19.1; 32.7, 8, etc.

139. Regarding the issue of 'correct' and 'incorrect' translations, it is interesting to note the overlap in the Greek vocabulary used in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew words in question:

Word(s)	Translated by	No. of cases (references given if less than 4×)	Found in the same v. with
קנה	λυτρόω	Exod. 15.16 (LXX^{A})	ירשה (—/Jer. 32.8)
78×	κτάομαι	72×	
נחל/נחלה	κτάομαι	Isa. 57.13; Jer.16.19/—	קנה (—/Ps. 74.2; Ruth 4.5, 10)
59×/223×	κληρονομία, κλῆρος	—/199×	ירש (Lev. 25.46; Deut. 19.14;
	κληρονομέω	19×/10×	Isa. 57.13; 1 Chron. 28.8/—)

Having been left with κτήσασθαι by default, as it were, two things remain to be said. First, it should be noted that κτάομαι occasionally also stretches its meaning to cover the idea of inheritance, when it translates נחל (Jer. 16.19; see esp. Isa. 57.13, where the pair נחל, ירש is translated by the pair κτάομαι, κληρονομέω). And whatever the genesis of the parallel phrase καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος, it strengthens the association of κτήσασθαι and 'inheritance'. Secondly, the disconcerting juxtaposition of κτήσασθαι (having overtones of inheritance) with the noun κτῆσις,[140] as well as with other forms of the verb,[141] all of which simply mean 'buy', should not be exaggerated. κτήσασθαι is distinctive, by virtue of being in the infinitive (the only time in Jeremiah), and by being paired with κρίμα, closely matching the expression in v. 7, and so pointing to a similar legal term (משפט ה—לך).

In short, given the choice of παραλαβεῖν for גאלה in v. 7, and the remaining vocabulary available to a translator who would avoid lexical levelling, κτήσασθαι is perhaps the most suitable word for ירשה. In addition, the resonance it achieves with the *Leitwörter* κτῆσις and κτάομαι makes it an exegetically suggestive choice that nonetheless stops short of exegetical homogenization (Tov's word for lexical levelling [1997: 29]).

Word(s)	Translated by	No. of cases (references given if less than 4×)	Found in the same v. with
ירש/ירשה 232×/14×	κληρονομέω	114× (none in Jer.) /Deut. 2.9; Josh. 12.7	נחלה (Num. 27.11; 36.8; Deut. 4.38; 15.4; 19.14; 25.19; 26.1; Josh. 13.6; Judg. 2.6; Ezek. 36.12/—)
	κλῆρος, κληρονομ-ια, -ος	8× (or 9×)/11×	
	λαμβάνω	Jer. 32.23/—	גאלה (—/Jer. 32.8)
	παραλαμβάνω	Jer. 49.1, 1, 2/—	
	ἀγχιστεύω	Num. 36.8, 8/—	
גאל/גאלה 100×/14×	ἀγχιστεύω, ἀγχιστεύς	23×/10×	קנה (Lev. 25.30; Ps. 74.2; Ruth 4.4; Jer. 32.8/Jer. 32.7, 8)
	ἀγχιστεία	Neh. 13.29/Ruth 4.6, 7	נחלה (Ps. 74.2; Ruth 4.6/ Ruth 4.6)
	λύτρον, λυτρόω, λύτρωσις	46×/6×	

140. Verses 7, 11, 12, 14, 16.

141. Aor. imv.: vv. 7, 8, 25; aor. ind.: v. 9; fut. ind.: vv. 15, 43, 44.

(3) הגאלה | πρεσβύτερος (v. 8e). G may have paraphrased,[142] but LXXV *הגדלה seems more likely. This raises problems best dealt with by examining all three variants together. There are four possible explanations of the text's condition: (1) LXXV ≠ M; (2) LXXV = M originally, but was changed secondarily; (3) LXXV = M, but G mistranslated; (4) LXXV = M, and G understood LXXV correctly. All these possibilities are represented in the literature.

3.6.4.2 (1) *LXXV ≠ M.* Tov (1997: 43) implies that הגאלה was absent from LXXV v. 7 when he says, 'קנה = εις κτησιν παραλαμβανω Jer 32(39):7'. Holladay (1989: 203-204), assuming משפט הירשה to be a synonym of משפט הגאלה, suggests that v. 8e was an explanatory, 'half-legible' gloss that was taken inaccurately into the text. In fact, however, גאלה most probably underlies παραλαβεῖν in v. 7, and is almost certainly distinct in meaning from ירשה.

The suggestions of Tov and Holladay imply the following retroversion:

v. 7	*כי לך משפט לקנות	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν
v. 8d	*כי לך משפט הירשה	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι
v. 8e	*[ולך הג(ד)לה]	καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος

First, does this solve the textual problems? Both the problematic v. 8d and the problem of גאלה in v. 8e remain. Though it is possible that גאלה was absent in LXXV v. 7 and corrupted in v. 8, this smacks somewhat of coincidence. But if πρεσβύτερος was an alteration of גאלה by an uncomprehending scribe, there is no longer a good reason why גאלה could not have been present and altered in v. 7.[143]

Secondly, does the translation fit its *Vorlage* better? As a translation of the purported LXXV, G is unbalanced, with a three-word explanatory phrase for לקנות in v. 7 and a single infinitive for the more difficult term ירשה in v. 8. This creates a Greek line-pair varied in word-length and uniform in syntax—the opposite of its supposed *Vorlage*. More specifically, one sort of literalness (the linguistic adequacy of lexical choices) has been gained at the expense of another sort (the quantitative representation of elements).[144] And v. 8e, if we read *גדולה, is an

142. Duhm (1901: 262) thought so, taking G v. 8e to mean, 'you are the eldest, i.e. next entitled heir'.

143. Holladay's speculation that the parallel phrase in v. 8 was added secondarily (1986: 203-204) requires the reintroduction of the problematic גאלה in v. 7.

144. See Barr 1979; Wright 1986.

extremely free lexical choice: גדולה is a noun, not an adjective, and is never used to mean ‘old’.[145] Jeremiah tends, however, to be literal in both ways. In 32.7-15, for example, there are at most four departures from quantitatively equal expressions, once we have excluded numbers, proper names and other words ‘for which the standard translation equivalents cannot be quantitatively rendered’.[146] Three involve the addition or omission of a particle, conjunction or verbal object,[147] while there is one probable exegetical rendering (דדי | υἱοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου, v. 12).[148] There is in fact no precedent in this chapter for the degree of freedom this proposal requires.

The problem of v. 8e is considerably simplified if we assume that a transmission error in LXXV lies behind *הגדולה. In that case, the translator may have salvaged its meaning by taking it as a feminine adjective, despite the fact that Jeremiah was male.

A subsidiary question is, Does the *Vorlage* read better than M? The legal term משפט + q^e*tullā* has been lost from v. 7, leaving a text unlikely to have given rise to M. However, other retroversions are also conceivable.

A retroversion based on the most common word-equivalents gives the following:[149]

v. 7	כי לך משפט הירשה לקנות*	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν
v. 8d	כי לך משפט לקנות*	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι
v. 8e	ולך הגדלה*	καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος

This solves the three textual problems, and is quantitatively literal, but is still a translation that fits its *Vorlage* poorly. G clearly reads לקנות as a verbal noun in v. 7, and in the whole chapter never fails to match verb (קנה) with verb (κτάομαι) and noun (מקנה) with noun (κτῆσις). Perhaps

145. If we choose the adjective *גדול instead, all resemblance to M is lost and one might as well choose *זקן (*pace* Warner 1940: 79*).

146. Wright (1986: 320). This includes דד | ἀδελφοῦ πατρός (vv. 7, 8, 9, 12), which would otherwise require the Septuagintal neologism πατράδελφος (found only in Judg. 10.1; 2 Sam. 23.9, 24; 1 Chron. 27.32).

147. קנה נא | κτῆσαι (v. 8); לעיני | καὶ κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς (v. 12); possibly, ונתתם | καὶ θήσεις (v. 14). Cf. Wright 1986: 322; Tov 1997: 155.

148. See Wright 1986: 329.

149. Verse 7: παραλαμβάνω always translates ירש in Jeremiah. Given that ירשה is a legal technical term of the q^e*tullā* form, we can safely say that LXXV did not have a verb here, despite κτήσασθαι. Verse 8: κτάομαι translates קנה ten times (all in ch. 32 except 13.1, 2; 19.1), נחל once (16.19).

one could argue that the infinitive κτήσασθαι in v. 8 has been included to match the infinitive παραλαβεῖν in v. 7, but a more literal translation would supply a noun rather than an infinitive for הירשה and allow the Greek to reflect the Hebrew more literally. Thus, it seems unlikely that the translator would, for the same word לקנות in LXXV, use the noun κτῆσις in the word from God and the verb κτάομαι in its fulfilment, despite the common root. After all, this retroversion is based on the assumption that the translator is trying to achieve as literal a reflection of the Hebrew as possible. (It also suffers the same line-pair mismatch as the previous one.)

Further, if one is trying for literalness, v. 8e is inadequate—it should read something like ואחה זקן. On the face of it, this is not impossible: πρεσβύτερος translates only זקן in Jeremiah, and in Ruth 3.12 Boaz speaks of a closer relative than he (קרוב ממני | ἐγγίων ὑπὲρ ἐμέ) who has the right of redemption before him.[150] Presumably an older brother/uncle/cousin would have this right before a younger,[151] in which case G fits the context well and, moreover, would clarify the otherwise unexplained question of how the closest male relative was identified (Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 153). But this seems unnecessarily speculative given the possibility that LXXV could have been misread or miscopied as גדלה, and the fact that הגאלה has already been (tolerably well) navigated by G in v. 7. It also raises the problem of how M could have developed from such an original. Indeed, LXXV would have to be secondary. And this is just the solution Migsch offers.

3.6.4.3 (2) *LXXV = M originally, but was revised secondarily.* Migsch's typically adventurous retroversion runs as follows (1996: 282-86):[152]

150. πρεσβύτερος is not used in Lev. 25, though 25.49 mentions υἱὸς ἀδελφοῦ πατρὸς as a potential redeemer.

151. Cf. Giesebrecht (1894: 176): G seems to have thought of גדלה in the sense of 'the advantage of the elder' (*Altersvorzug*).

152. He offers four justifications (pp. 283-85). (1) Because agreements between M and G are restricted to the inessentials (vv. 7c, 8d: משפט/κρίμα v.8e: ו/καὶ), it is probable that LXXV presented the translator with a text that agreed with M only in these inessentials. (2) The sequence לקנות (v. 7)...הירשה (v. 8) in M is reversed in LXXV. (3) κτήσασθαι obviously cannot stand for הירשה, but reflects לקנות. If one starts from the assumption that the translator was not familiar with the special meaning of הירשה (from Lohfink: right of succession to a family's real property), the verb κτήσασθαι cannot be equated with it. (4) The reason for choosing לרשה for παραλαβεῖν was the chiastic correspondence between M and G of vv. 7c and 8.

v. 7	כי לך משפט לרשה*	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν
v. 8d	כי לך משפט לקנות*	ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι
v. 8e	ואתה זקן*	καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος

Migsch theorizes that the recension behind G has removed references to the גאלה law and replaced it with a stress on Jeremiah's right to take over the family leadership. The translator probably did not know the meaning of ירשה here, and so used παραλαβεῖν—a verb—which he used thrice more for ירש. He probably added εἰς κτῆσιν for clarification.

This solves the problem of ירשה and גאלה, but at the expense of over-speculativeness. Above all, Migsch has sacrificed εἰς κτῆσιν to the theory that παραλαβεῖν translated a verb. It seems fanciful to suggest that εἰς κτῆσιν was absent in LXXV and added by the translator, thus coincidentally reproducing M. Secondly, by striking לקנות from his *Vorlage,* Migsch highlights the difference between the normal meaning of גאלה (next of kin's right) and ירשה (taking possession by inheritance). This lends weight to his hypothesis of translator ignorance of a special meaning of ירשה.[153] But once again this collapses under its own weight: if the wrong verb was used, then what is to stop the *Vorlage* being the 'wrong' *Vorlage,* that is, not ירשה but something else? Thirdly, for a retroversion that presupposes such translational accuracy that ירשה is replaced by לרשה and לך by ואתה, an explanatory gloss seems gratuitously free. Finally, the putative LXXV itself lacks any significant repetitious element, despite the fact that v. 7 is supposed to be fulfilled in v. 8. But the presence of the auxiliary word משפט in both verses suggests that repetition was intended.

3.6.4.4 (3) *LXXV = M, but G misunderstood.* Hitzig maintains that G did not understand the word גאלה, so left it out of v. 7 and altered it to גדלה in v. 8e.[154] Likewise, Streane (1896: 220) allows that κρίμα...κτῆσιν

> would stand fairly enough as a somewhat free rendering of the M.T. When however we find that הג׳ in v. 8...meets with such different treatment, we must conclude that in the earlier case O´ either failed to understand it (which is unlikely, as the word frequently occurs in Lev. xxv.), or did not find it in their text.

153. From Lohfink, but—as pointed out in n. 133 above—it seems to be a definition gleaned from the context.

154. Hitzig 1866: 259. He adds that גאלה means something very like 'kinship' (*Verwandtschaft*) in v. 7 (though probably not in v. 8).

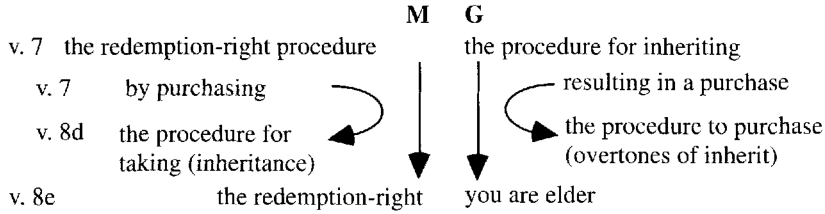
Streane's argument that if there is a problem with one occurrence of גאלה, there is probably a problem with both, carries conviction, unless we have to deal with an isolated corruption גאלה → גדלה in LXXV v. 8. If this were the case (as I believe it is), the fact that vv. 7 and 8 are clearly supposed to mean the same thing could well lead the translator to bring his renditions of the two verses as close as possible to each other in meaning. Furthermore, Streane fails to consider the degree to which the situation reflected by Jeremiah 32 differs from that pictured in Leviticus 25, thus legitimizing a different sort of translation. With Streane, I assume the translator knew גאלה from Leviticus and Ruth, but this is not certain.[155]

3.6.4.5 (4) *LXXV = M, and G understood LXXV correctly.* I argued that גאלה means 'the right of redemption'. In this case, משפט הגאלה seems to have been interpreted as 'the legal or customary procedure governing the redemption-right', with stress on the question of who is eligible to act as a *gō'ēl.* G has made this explicit by identifying Jeremiah as not just redeemer, but heir. This is merely a difference of emphasis, as it is clear from Lev. 25.25 that the one with the right of redemption of property is the nearest relative (ובא גאלו הקרב, with the emphatic definite article).[156] Thus, to say that Jeremiah is entitled to exercise the redemption-right is tantamount to saying that he is next of kin. In both versions this status results in the same action of purchase (reading ל + inf. cs. as gerundive: 'by purchasing'). εἰς κτῆσιν in G demonstrates that it is not a simple case in that version of inheritance and no more. And in both versions the first element of v. 7 is reflected in v. 8e and the second in v. 8d (הירשה carrying here the idea of taking possession):[157]

155. Thackeray (p. 14): 'Jeremiah ß contains the most glaring instances in the LXX of a translator who was ignorant of the meaning of the Hebrew, having recourse to Greek words of similar sound'. Could this habit sometimes have been extended to Hebrew words of a similar sound (e.g. גדלה/גאלה)?

156. Cf. Levine (1989: 180): 'The order of obligation to redeem kinsmen within the clan correlates, in a general way, with the law of inheritance set forth in the account of...Numbers 27.8-11. First come brothers, then uncles and cousins, then other consanguineal relatives.' The events in Ruth 3–4 bear this out.

157. I have rendered משפט | κρίμα as 'procedure' despite the obscure result, to draw attention to the unique collocations with גאלה, ירשה, (παρα)λαμβάνω, κτάομαι.



Is this a case, as Migsch believes (1996: 283), of a conscious excision of redemption language in G? What is the difference between exercising a redemption-right by purchasing property, and exercising an inheritance-right by purchasing property? In the legal context of Jeremiah's day, there may have been none. As Levine says of Leviticus 25, 'the legalities of [Jeremiah 32] differ somewhat from the law set forth in this chapter'.[158] And Westbrook notes two differences (1991: 59): in Jeremiah, it is a case of pre-emption rather than redemption (though Leviticus does not exclude this, as it is not comprehensive); and Jeremiah apparently buys the field for himself, rather than restoring the vendor to the land. He adds (pp. 61-62):

> If the redeemer were also a potential heir, he could frequently be intervening to buy back his own inheritance... This restores something of the idealistic nature of the institution, if it is known that Jeremiah is purchasing what will eventually be his by right of inheritance.

Thus we have indications in Jeremiah that the meaning of גאלה was in flux, with a blurring of the ideas of redemption and inheritance, indications that should make us cautious about seeing a different *Vorlage* in G.

Nonetheless, Holladay goes too far when he considers גאלה and ירשה synonymous (1989: 203). The equation in M seems to be משפט הגאלה לקנות (v. 7) = משפט הירשה + הגאלה (v. 8). Given that the property is being redeemed but not handed back to the original owner, it may be that the legal situation presented in v. 7 consists of the classic redemption-rights of Leviticus 25 (הגאלה, v. 8e) exercised for the benefit of the heir (משפט הירשה, v. 8d). Thus the terms גאלה and ירשה are complementary, and G, though free, is not wide of the mark.

3.6.4.6 My assessment is that G displays a degree of interpretation in the choice of lexemes based on an understanding of the events con-

158. 1989: 180; cf. Perrin 1963: 412.

cerned, possibly extending to a knowledge (or assumption) of distinctive legal practices. Note that, as the translator has moved beyond normal linguistic exegesis to contextual exegesis,[159] he has maintained strict literalism on the quantitative plane. Thus, in vv. 7, 8d, LXXV = M. Finally, I retrovert to *הגדלה in v. 8e (transmission error in LXXV), because this not only accounts for πρεσβύτερος, but provides a strong motive for the translator to stress the cognate aspect of גאלה in v. 7: inheritance.[160]

3.6.5 *The Deed(s) of Purchase*

The final group of variants in this section involves problems with the text of v. 14b in both M and G. Verses 10-12 are also relevant to the roblem, and all relevant extracts are reproduced here in parallel:[161]

10	ואכתב בספר ואחתם ואעד עדים	καὶ ἔγραψα εἰς βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην καὶ διεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας
11	ואקח את ספר המקנה את החתום המצוה והחקים ואת הגלוי	καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον
12	ואתן את הספר המקנה ... ולעיני העדים הכתבים בספר המקנה	καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὸ...κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἑστηκότων καὶ γραφόντων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς κτήσεως
14	לקוח את הספרים האלה את ספר המקנה הזה ואת החתום ואת ספר הגלוי הזה ונתתם	λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τοῦτο καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον καὶ θήσεις

Behind each scholar's judgment about these verses lie three interrelated questions: (1) the historical (the nature of the document[s] in question); (2) the literary (how much licence does the text exercise in describing them?); and (3) the textual (the meaning and significance of the discrepancies between M and G). The debate over these verses since the 1840s aptly illustrates the contingency of text-critical conclusions upon supposedly alien factors, especially the attitude of the scholar towards question (2).

3.6.5.1 The debate up to 1910 saw two main schools of thought about the meaning of ספר המקנה. The minority, following Hitzig (1866:

159. Cf. Tov 1997: 45-46.

160. An interest by the translator in being as true to life as possible is also seen in vv. 36, 43-44. Cf. §6.6.3.

161. Ziegler's text emended as per §3.3.2.

261),[162] considered that the actual deed was the sealed one, but that the open one was on the same sheet of parchment, half of which was folded and sealed like a 'diploma' ('als diploma'), half left open. The deed's text was only written out once, and the witnesses, who witnessed the sealing of the deed but not its contents, attested to this by signing the otherwise blank open section.[163] Where Hitzig defended the plural ספרים in v. 14 on the grounds that a composite deed could be spoken of plurally (p. 262), Cornill was not so generous, arguing that for all its bipartite nature there was only one deed, and that the purer text of G reflected this consistently. Duhm, even though he thought there were two copies of the deed produced, belongs in this camp because he believed that only one copy was buried. It is scarcely coincidental that Duhm, Cornill and (to a lesser extent) Hitzig were followers of Movers (1837) in seeing G as a purer witness than the expansionistic M. Decisive was their perception that G speaks of just one deed of purchase: Jeremiah takes it (G v. 11) and gives it to Baruch (G v. 12) that he may put it in a jar (G v. 14). M seems, equally clearly, to speak of two deeds, a sealed (החתום) and an open (הגלוי), concerning which v. 14 in particular leaves no doubt (Cornill 1905: 362).

From these assumptions the text was reconstructed as follows: ואת הגלוי in v. 11 was deleted (all in the nineteenth century used B, which lacks ἀνεγνωσμένον here), as well as את הספר המקנה in v. 12, which was 'unnecessarily repeated' on account of the insertion in v. 11 (Duhm 1901: 264). In v. 14 Duhm follows G, which refers to just one book. His verdict is the same for M, as the conjunction betrays ואת החתום as a gloss, and הזה 1° shows that just one document was involved (p. 265). ספר הגלוי is just tagged on ('nur so mitläuft'). The open copy was for Baruch to keep for ready reference.[164]

Cornill (1895) takes much the same line (after Stade 1885), but in his 1905 commentary goes further, proposing a more thoroughgoing exci-

162. Stade 1885: 176; Cornill 1895: 64; 1905: 361-64; Duhm 1901. Ewald essentially agrees (1840: 162).

163. Assuming that the order of events in v. 11 was chronological, Hitzig concludes that the witnesses could not have signed their names in the sealed deed, nor witnessed its contents (1866: 260-61).

164. Duhm (1901: 265) is sceptical about this detail, thinking it likelier that a smug copyist was advertising his knowledge of legal usage ('Hat...ein selbstgefälliger Abschreiber dies Anzeigeblatt in den Text gesetzt, um seine Kenntnis der Usancen zu zeigen...').

sion of elements suggesting a second deed. He concludes that M's use of the plural in v. 14 reflects later legal practices.[165] Cornill's version of v. 14b (with deletions and insertions marked) is

לקוח [את הספרים האלה] את ספר המקנה הזה [ואת החתום ואת
ספר הגלוי הזה] ונתת[ם]‹ו›

This is basically a retroversion of G, but with καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον excised.

3.6.5.2 The majority, following Graf,[166] objected that the passage spoke ineluctably of two actual and separate deeds: the expressions את החתום ואת הגלוי (v. 11) and את ספר וגו' (v. 14) refer to two separate communications ('zwei getrennte Schreiben'), but one was probably a verbatim copy of the other, that is, both were effectively one and the same document, so that the sg. could be used in v. 11 (Graf 1862: 407). Similarly, Giesebrecht (1894: 177) considered that Stade had not succeeded in removing the impression that two exemplars of the deed are spoken of in v. 14. For a composite made of a 'contract' section plus a 'witness' section unavoidably constitutes just one deed. Once again, it is no surprise that Graf was the main defender of the originality of M; this school of thought basically preserved M in vv. 11-14.

3.6.5.3 The problem with Graf's approach is that it is very difficult to square a picture of two books with vv. 10-12, either in M or G. Starting with G, v. 11 speaks of a 'book', singular. The two-book theory would require the next description, 'the sealed', to modify 'the book of the purchase', with the following conjunction introducing a second book, 'the opened/read aloud'. However, there is an unambiguous αὐτὸ in v. 12 that cannot refer back to just one element of v. 11, as both are mentioned in v. 14.[167] Even in M, where the opening of v. 12 is

165. Cornill 1905: 363. Stade explains it as a misunderstanding, whereby M took the two parts (החתום and הגלוי) of one composite object to be two distinct ספרים (1885: 177).

166. Naegelsbach (1868: 233); Keil (1872: 346); Payne Smith (1875); Cheyne (1906); Orelli (1889 [1882]); also Calvin (1563: 262-63) and most early commentators (e.g. Mayer 1652: 431; Haak 1657).

167. αὐτὸ in v. 12 could refer to the sealed book only if the phrase καὶ γραφόντων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς κτήσεως in v. 12b could be taken to mean that the public copy was still being written (the term βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως by this theory is

problematic, two separate books cannot be read out of vv. 10-12. In v. 10 there is a clear order of writing, sealing and witnessing, which suggests that the witnesses wrote not in the sealed, but only in the open copy.[168] To sustain a two-book theory, however, the phrase ספר המקנה in v. 11 must be associated only with the sealed copy. But v. 12 describes the book in which the witnesses wrote as ספר המקנה. To claim that this term excludes the open copy in v. 11 (which must be done if we are to see two objects in this verse), but that it includes the open copy in v. 12 is special pleading.

3.6.5.4 However, Hitzig's approach also founders, and this is best demonstrated in dialogue with Janzen, Hitzig's modern-day advocate. Janzen reconstructs a double reading in v. 14 along the following lines (1973: 15-16):

(1) Only one book was involved, made of two parts; scribes misunderstood or ignored the nature of the book in question in referring to the plural ספרים; even the Hexaplaric recension did not restore a plural.[169]

(2) ספר 2° is ungrammatical before הגלוי, and should be omitted (cf. v. 11);[170] it was thus an early expansion, as it is in G as well; הזה should be omitted with G, but ואת החתום should be added with M, minus the conjunction (again following *O L* but not α´-Syh), as it balances את הגלוי (haplography את 3° to 4° in LXXV).[171] This gives a reconstruction involving a conflation of two variants, the first of which became pluralized:

associated with the public copy). Then in v. 14 Baruch is told to take both copies. However, the job of the witnesses is clearly over in v. 10.

168. It is incorrect to maintain, as does Rudolph (1967: 211—by appeal to Naegelsbach), that the clauses in v. 10 are ordered by the objects involved, not the chronology. In fact, Naegelsbach had objected to the assumption (Hitzig), no longer held, that the contents of the deed were concealed from the witnesses, and he had no grounds for this other than the unlikelihood of such a situation. See §3.6.5.6.

169. pr. το βιβλιον τουτο Syh Arm; pr. ※ συν↙ τω βιβλιω τουτω 88. Only α´-Syh has τα βιβλια ταυτα. Cf. also for ונתתם: θησεις] + αυτο B *L* Co Aeth Arab; + αυτα *l* Syh^{mg}.

170. So *BHS*; Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 143.

171. He is supported by Migsch (1996: 647), who does not, however, accept the deletion of ו, arguing at length (p. 58, cf. n. 21) that the difference between M and *O* is explicable by the assumption of a context-correction.

לקוח { את הספר[ים האלה]‹הזה› / את ספר המקנה הזה } [ו]את החתום ואת [ספר]
הגלוי [הזה] ונתת[ם]‹ו›.

(3) This conflation should be seen in the light of a pattern of double readings in M that suggests attempts to bring divergent texts into conformity with each other (p. 33).[172]

Janzen's argument is much stronger than Cornill's. For a start, he is not tied down by the problem of the number of books in question (Janzen is aware of Fischer's solution outlined below). But his reconstruction of v. 14 (which I label 'J') agrees with neither M nor G, both of which seem to have two books in mind:

M: 'Take these books: this book of the purchase, i.e. the sealed,
and this book of the public.'
G: 'Take this book of the purchase
and the book, the read-out.'
J: 'Take this book [this book of the purchase], the sealed
and the read-out.'

G clearly suggests two books, since in the absence of τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον, the καὶ preceding τὸ βιβλίον 2° cannot be epexegetical—that is, the second βιβλίον does not correspond to the first one.[173] And the rest of G v. 14 is ambiguous on the question: καὶ θήσεις has no object (though note + αυτο B *L* Co Aeth Arab; + αυτα *l* Syh^{mg}), and the singular ἵνα διαμείνῃ could well have a nt. pl. subject.[174] In other words, M and G alike speak as if there were one book in vv. 10-12, and as if there were two in v. 14.[175] Much textual criticism of this passage

172. Janzen also suggests (1973: 33) that conflation was a genuine attempt to preserve variant readings and goes on to theorize that some of the M doublets arose from conflation of the Egyptian readings—as witnessed for example in $4\mathrm{QJer}^{b}$—with the M text base (cf. Klein 1974: 30-32).

173. Even if Janzen is right about a haplography in LXXV, ספר 2° still implies a second book. Volz (1983 [1928]: 307) takes advantage of the G minus to speculate that החתום fell out of the text and was re-inserted into M from the margin, but in the wrong place and with את added. He restores החתום in front of הזה 1°.

174. Blass and Debrunner, §133. Cf. Giesebrecht 1894: 179.

175. So Wanke (1989: 268 n. 33): the text of G v. 14 remains unclear, but it should be recognized that its *Vorlage* nonetheless speaks of one bi-partite deed (*Doppelurkunde*). However, Bogaert (1995) believes that the two copies were apparently not attached, or G v. 14 would not make sense. And it is true that the

gives the impression that an erroneous reference to two books in M v. 14 is being corrected in the light of G, but this is misleading: M is not being harmonized with G—rather, v. 14, in either version, is being harmonized by scholars with vv. 10-12.

3.6.5.5 It remains to make three comments about the details of Janzen's analysis. (1) His reconstruction of v. 14 is a combination of the text-critical and the literary-critical (e.g. om. ספר 2°), sometimes purely conjectural (e.g. changing האלה to הזה). This is unhelpful, as it prevents the reader from being able to discriminate between judgments for which there is hard evidence (i.e. variant readings), and further speculations along the same lines but without evidence.[176] (2) He bases emendations on what are 'non-variant deviations' in G (Tov 1997: 155-56). A good example is the emendation ואת החתום → את החתום, based on the Greek reading τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον *O L'* Arm (differs by a conjunction), or ונתתם → ונתתו, based on καὶ θήσεις αὐτὸ B *L* Co Aeth Arab (differs by the number of the suffix). The process of translation was simply not exact enough to allow one to deduce the existence of a variant *Vorlage* from isolated deviations of this nature. Similarly, Janzen's point about the nonconformity of the Hexapla to M at הספרים האלה is suggestive, but as well as being another non-variant deviation (sg. *versus* pl.), the discarding of the plural α'-Syh reading, presumably because it is a less reliably independent witness, breaks another of Tov's 'rules' (1997: 222): 'Once retroverted reliably, all variants have an equal claim to originality.' That is, when assessing whether the *Vorlage* of one Greek text is superior to the *Vorlage* of another, the respective value of the source texts can no longer be brought into consideration; the process of retroversion is not accurate enough to sustain distinctions of this category. It should be noted, moreover, that ו creates a *lectio difficilior.* (3) Having said all this, M nevertheless looks very awkward at points, especially ואת ספר הגלוי הזה in v. 14. Yet not only is ספר present in all MSS, but both it and הזה play a significant part in the verse's detail. The two-fold ספר distinguishes the two ספרים (assuming ואת 1° to be epexeget-

two deeds as described in G v. 14 do not lend themselves easily to a *Doppelurkunde* theory. But G v. 11 is so clear on the question that in its light we may understand τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως to refer to the sealed deed, the 'deed proper'.

176. See the methodological comments by McKane (1986: li). Migsch is guilty of the same category mistake (1996: 67-68, 249).

ical), and the double deixis of הזה 1° and 2° reinforces the distinction.[177] I therefore restrict my speculations to the quantitative variants, and suggest (a) that הזה 2° has been added by M to strengthen the parallels within the verse; (b) that a haplography may well have occurred at את 3° to 4°, since הגלוי would seem to need החתום;[178] (c) that while את הספרים האלה may have been a clarifying addition by M, we cannot discount another haplography in LXXV, את 1° to 2°. This may seem an excessive reliance upon haplography, but it will be seen that haplography is a significant feature of LXXV in the rest of Jeremiah 32[39]. As a final comment on the subjectivity of the type of emendations on view here, it is worth noting that the two proposals set out above (Cornill and Janzen) agree firmly on only one word between לקוח and בכלי חרש, and this word (ונתתו) is an emendation based on a non-variant deviation, which is adopted for quite different reasons!

3.6.5.6 The nineteenth century debate over the nature of ספר המקנה was attended by a sense of uncertainty, prophetically expressed by Giesebrecht when he surmised that a more precise knowledge of ancient legal conventions would probably result in much less surprise over the apparent double deed (1894: 177). And in the first decade of this century such knowledge came to light in the form of 'tied deeds' (*Doppelurkunden*) found at Hibeh (published 1906) and Elephantine (published 1907–1908). When Fischer commented on these finds the debate was potentially closed on the historical level (1910: 138).[179] Apart from some notable exceptions (recently, Bogaert 1995; McKane 1996b), this historical understanding prevails today. The nature of the deeds in question is as follows.

177. Cf. also v. 12 (§2.2.5). Note Peake's caution (1911: 118-19): 'The Hebrew is clumsy and redundant, but this may be due to the adoption of legal phraseology.'

178. Given the absence of this element from LXXV, one way of reading the verse might be as a command to bury just one of two books, which might have led to the rendition θήσεις as an exegetical accommodation.

179. Fischer's assessment of Mishnaic and Talmudic evidence is in my view relatively insignificant, as the documents described therein only ever have one deed written out. Some 20 years earlier, Babylonian clay contracts in clay envelopes had been suggested as a model for Jer. 32 (see Peters 1922: 123), and this had some impact on the English-speaking world, but it has been Fischer's article that has influenced Jeremiah scholarship in the long run (e.g. Hyatt 1956: 1045; Bright 1965: 238).

Yadin (1962: 235-38, Fig. 48B) describes property deeds in two copies made from a single piece of papyrus, the top half of which (the inner copy of the deed) was rolled up and tied (the string passed through holes in the parchment), and the bottom half of which contained the 'open copy' of the deed. The deeds found were much later than Jeremiah's day—Aramaic, Greek and Nabataean documents from the first two centuries CE.[180] With this caveat in mind, Yadin makes three observations pertinent to Jeremiah 32: (1) the open copy of the deed was usually verbatim, though on rare occasions the wording of interior and exterior was not identical; (2) the witnesses signed the open copy only, on the back, each signature running from a tie downwards; (3) there were no seals next to the signatures. Yadin assumes that 'in the period under discussion (i.e. the first and second centuries CE), it was no longer customary for the seal impressions of the witnesses to be affixed' (p. 237).

The evidence of legal documents from Elephantine in Egypt (Porten 1968: 189-99) is much older, dating to the fifth century BCE. The caveat in this case is the degree to which Egyptian influence was at work. Aramaic and demotic contracts had very similar contents, but 'it is clear from many of the Akkadian expressions and the similarities to Babylonian documents that the Aramaic texts ultimately go back to a Semitic tradition' (pp. 191-92). Further, the Aramaic scribal traditions of preparing and drawing up the document differed from the demotic. Porten continues (p. 195):

> the [Aramaic] scribes wrote in a single column along the width of the papyrus, on either the recto or the verso, and the witnesses almost always signed their names 'within,' that is, on the same side as the text. The Egyptian documents were not sealed; the Aramaic were.

These two sets of archaeological findings make possible a reading of Jer. 32.10-14 as it stands:[181] (1) v. 10: the deed is written (both copies),

180. See Bright 1965: 237-38. Holladay (1989: 215) confuses the issue by appearing to support both the clay (after Giesebrecht 1894: 177) and the papyrus formats. King (1993: 89-90) suggests that there were two separate deeds in Jer. 32, but provides neither evidence nor argument for this.

181. Bogaert is sceptical about the attestation of such deeds in Jer. 32. He complains that there are no examples of double deeds on papyrus in Egypt before the Ptolemaic era, and that the deeds described by Yadin are late and manifest a Hellenistic or Roman context (1995: 68-69 n. 20). But although the Egyptian deeds are

then sealed (the inner copy), then witnessed (the open copy); (2) v. 11: the single 'book' is described as a composite object; המצוה והחקים in M could refer to legal stipulations written only in the sealed copy, though this is not syntactically necessary;[182] (3) v. 12: the witnesses are said to have written 'in' (ב) the single entity ספר המקנה; this could reflect the practice noted for Elephantine, whereby when the witnesses wrote their own names the names were preceded by the phrase '(and) the witnesses are within' (Porten 1968: 198); (4) v. 14: the 'books', conceived of as plural, are stored. The phrase 'book of the purchase' in both M and G seems to be linked with the sealed copy, perhaps because it was the 'original' that was most proof against alteration (see Yadin 1962). This could also be the case in v. 11, though v. 12 uses the phrase for both parts. The question of why M in particular suddenly lays such a stress on the plurality of the object is not a textual but a literary question, and the beginnings of an answer may be found in M vv. 43-44 (but not G), where there is a similar shift from 'field' to 'fields'. It is possible that the shift from sg. to pl. that is the essence of the symbolic act in both versions—that is, Jeremiah's field symbolizes the purchase of many fields (v. 15)—has been strengthened in M by stressing a similar shift in the deed itself, for the deed represents the field.[183]

3.6.5.7 In the light of these archaeological findings it became possible for scholars to harmonize the apparently conflicting elements of the account, and the belief that M witnessed two deeds and G one was no longer so prevalent. Thus Peake was able to comment on v. 14, 'Even the LXX recognizes here the open deed in addition to that which was sealed up, and thus attests the facts which it has previously obliterated' (1911: 119). But the mere possibility of a harmonized reading does not compel the scholar who is committed, for example, to the superiority of G in every possible place, and so the variety of textual reconstructions that characterized the debate last century continues today.

not classic *Doppelurkunden*, and the Palestinian *Doppelurkunden* are removed from Jeremiah's time and context, between them they establish the possibility of a *Doppelurkunde* behind Jer. 32. Positive proof is not vital, as Jer. 32 provides its own evidence.

182. See §3.4.9; cf. Holladay 1989: 215.

183. Of course, the motivation for the M plus may have been simply to achieve greater precision in the description of the legal document.

3.6.5.8 Another reconstruction has recently been proposed by Bogaert (1995), who argues that G depicts two deeds and M three.[184] He begins by examining v. 14 with the eyes of the 'unbiased reader' ('le lecteur non prévenu', p. 70), and discerns three documents therein. He then reads v. 11 accordingly:

	v. 11		v. 14
			את הספרים האלה
1.	את ספר המקנה	1.	את ספר המקנה הזה
2.	[185]את החתום המצוה והחקים	2.	ואת החתום
3.	ואת הגלוי	3.	ואת ספר הגלוי הזה

Bogaert concludes (p. 72) that there is (a) a sealed deed of purchase as per v. 10, (b) another sealed document containing המצוה והחקים, and (c) an open document relating to one of the other two, perhaps an open copy of (a), or a public legislative document.[186] This thesis seems destined not to stand: given the lack of a conjunction before את 2° (v. 11) it is more natural to read what follows as epexegetical of את ספר המקנה, and this in turn makes the conceptual separation of את ספר המקנה הזה in v. 14 from what follows implausible. Methodologically, Bogaert has forced his conclusion by working back from v. 14; to

184. Bogaert is not the first to propose numerous deeds. Clarke (1824: 2970-71) discovers three documents: the deed, the duplicate, and the '*book of purchase, perhaps a town book,* or *register,* where such purchases were entered'. And according to Wacholder (1986: 360 n. 31), 'Qimḥi apparently sees *three* separate documents..., two of which were duplicate.' Cf. also Gouge 1651.

185. Bogaert erroneously transliterates *wᵉ-'èt hè-ḥatûm*, giving a greater appearance of correspondence than actually exists. His previous translation of the whole passage correctly lacks the conjunction, though it is far from 'neutral', making G speak of two deeds and M of three, despite the exact equivalence of Greek and Hebrew (1995: 56):

M v. 11	'Et je pris le document d'achat,	celui qui était scellé,...	et celui qui était ouvert.'
G v. 11	'Et je pris le document d'achat	qui était scellé	et celui qui était lu.'

186. His hypothesis is inspired by Wacholder (1986) and concerns the tradition according to which Jeremiah had assured/ensured (*assuré*) the salvage of certain sacred Temple objects and the holy books before the destruction of Jerusalem: the 'law and statutes' designate a sealed legislative document by which Jeremiah conveys this assurance (p. 73).

follow the thought of the text as handed down to us yields another impression altogether. Finally, the multiplication of referents—whereby each new way of speaking about a deed signifies a different deed—complicates the interpretation of the text unnecessarily.

3.6.5.9. To conclude: while archaeology has made possible a basically unemended reading of M in theory, such a reading tends only to be put into practice when there is no prior commitment to the ubiquitous superiority of G, and when a certain flexibility of expression (and also legal jargon) is allowed the author of the passage.

As a postscript to this discussion I should like to draw attention to the commentary by Blayney (1784). He alone (so far as I can find) anticipates the Palestinian *Doppelurkunden*, and does so simply by a careful reading of the text (p. 215):

> The deed or instrument of purchase, from what is here said, seems to have been written upon a single roll, but to have consisted of two parts; the upper part...was rolled up, and sealed with the seals of the parties, or perhaps of the public officer who attended; by which the falsification of the contents was prevented. At the bottom, which was left open, perhaps an abstract of the deed was written, and the names of the witnesses; this being for publick notoriety, as the close part was reserved for evidence in case of judicial controversy.

Chapter Four

JEREMIAH 32.16-25

4.1 *Variants for Discussion*

v.	M	G	§
17	אהה אדני יהוה הנה	̔Ο῎Ων κύριε	4.2.1; 4.6.1
	הנטויה	τῷ ὑψηλῷ	4.5.1
	לא יפלא	οὐ μὴ ἀποκρυβῇ	4.2.2; 4.5.2
	כל דבר	οὐθέν	5.5.1
18	עון	ἁμαρτίας	4.5.3
	אל חיק	εἰς κόλπους	4.5.3
18-19	יהוה צבאות שמו גדל	κύριος μεγάλης	4.6.2
19	העליליה	τοῖς ἔργοις	4.5.4
	om.	ὁ θεὸς…ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος	4.6.2
	אשר עיניך	οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου	4.5.5
	פקחות	>	4.4.1
	על כל דרכי	εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς	4.4.2; 4.5.6
	לתת לאיש	δοῦναι ἑκάστῳ	4.5.7
	כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו	κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ	4.4.3
20	באדם	ἐν τοῖς γηγενέσι	4.5.8
21	נטויה	ὑψηλῷ	4.5.1
	ובמורא גדול	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασι μεγάλοις	4.2.5; 4.5.3
22	לתת להם	>	4.4.4
23	וירשו	καὶ ἐλάβοσαν	4.5.9
	ובתרותך	τοῖς προστάγμασι	4.2.6
	לעשות לא עשו	οὐκ ἐποίησαν	4.4.5
	ותקרא אתם	καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι αὐτοῖς	4.5.10
	כל הרעה הזאת	πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα	5.5.7
24	הסללות	ὄχλος	4.4.6; 4.5.11
	הכשדים	Χαλδαίων	4.4.7
	החרב והרעב והדבר	μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ	4.3.1; 4.4.8
	ואשר	ὡς…οὕτως	4.5.12
	והנך ראה	>	4.4.9
25	ואתה אמרת	καὶ σὺ λέγεις	4.5.13
	אדני יהוה	>	4.4.10

v.	M	G	§
	בכסף	ἀργυρίου	4.4.11
	והעד עדים	καὶ ἔγραψα βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην καὶ ἐπεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας	4.4.12

4.2 *Comments on the Masoretic Text*

4.2.1

אהה אדני יהוה הנה (v. 17; cf. אדני יהוה v. 25). Eb 22: אהה יהוה אלהים, Vg: *Heu heu heu Domine Deus ecce,*[1] Tg: קביל בעותי יוי אלהים הא, Pesh: ܒܒܥܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܐ.

אהה is always followed by אדני יהוה when YHWH is the addressee, forming a stock phrase.[2] The variant יהוה אלהים in Eb 22 might be a natural error resulting from dictation, except for the consistency of Tg Pesh Vg, which are not dependent on G in any of the 14 occurrences in Jeremiah of אדני יהוה (see §4.6.1). Hayward (1981: 39) explains that in the synagogue liturgy אדני was substituted for the divine name יהוה, a practice reflected in Tg by 'translating' occurrences of אדני as if they were יהוה. As a result, in the expression אדני יהוה, יהוה was rendered with an equivalent of אלהים, to avoid doubling. It looks as though Pesh Vg are dependent on Tg here.[3] The reading of Eb 22 gives further testimony to the widespread nature of this practice, as, it would seem, does the standard equivalent יהוה | κύριος.

Other than Eb 22 I know of no MS that lacks הנה, and its absence in this MS is hard to explain, unless an earlier copy had agreed with M and then suffered homoioteleuton יהוה הנה.

4.2.2

יפלא (vv. 17, 27). Tg: יתכסא (hide oneself), Pesh: ܛܫܐ (pe., 'be hidden'), Rashi, Qimḥi: 'hidden',[4] G: ἀποκρυβῇ. In the light of this, *BHK* suggests 'frt יִכָּסֶה vel יִכָּלֵא'. But Sperber (1973: 330) insists that neither form underlies Tg, referring to Gen. 18.14; 2 Sam. 13.2, where also פלא

1. Old Latin *Heu heu* (Streane 1896: 360).
2. Josh. 7.7; Judg. 6.22; Jer. 1.6; 4.10; 14.13; Ezek. 4.14; 9.8; 11.13; 21.5. For a full analysis, see Baumgärtel (1961). Ehrlich's emendation to אָנָּה is arbitrary, prompted by contextual considerations (1968 [1912]: 325).
3. See McKane (1986: xxxiv) on 2.21-24 for examples of Tg readings adopted by Pesh.
4. McKane 1996b: 843; Hayward, 137.

ni. is rendered by כסא itpa.[5] And Pesh, in translating פלא ni. in Deut. 17.8 and 30.11, uses ܟܣܐ, a synonym of ܛܫܐ. This choice is reflected in neither Tg nor G; it appears to be an independent translation. Similarly, the failure of Pesh to follow Tg in 32.17 and use the expected verb ܟܣܐ leads Migsch (1996: 59 n. 25) to conclude that it is independent of Tg, and he goes on to suggest (tentatively) that it is also independent of G. McKane (1986: xxviii), however, asserts that 'the Syriac translator or a subsequent reviser of Pesh. had Sept. and Targ. open before him'.[6] Whatever the case, it would appear that all versions had פלא ni. in their *Vorlagen*, and took it in the context—whether independently or not—to mean 'hidden'. Though this meaning is not listed in modern lexica (BDB; KBR),[7] the mediaeval rabbis clearly accepted it for פלא ni.

When we turn to the Greek reading, much of the same discussion applies. Commentators have long considered פלא and ἀποκρύπτω non-equivalent;[8] it has frequently been suggested that G read כלא for פלא (e.g. LEH). The expected rendition, ἀδυνατέω, is found in Gen. 18.14 (cf. Deut. 17.18; Zech. 8.6). Other equivalents for פלא ni. are ὑπέρογκος (Deut. 30.11), θαυμαστός (Ps. 119[118].18; Job 42.3), and θαυμάσιος (Jer. 21.2).[9] Thus 32[39].17, together with v. 27 (פלא ni. | κρύπτω), provide unique readings. However, they would also be unique renderings of כלא, making the solution as unsatisfactory as the problem.[10] This is apart from the fact that כלא is never used to mean

5. Other free or interpretive Tg renditions for פלא ni. are פרש itpa. (Deut. 17.8; 30.11; 2 Sam. 1.26), יקר (Zech. 8.6). See Migsch 1996: 59 n. 22.

6. Cf. Gordon 1994: 128-29. The fact that the cognate Syriac term ܦܠܐܬܐ means 'enigma' could well have encouraged the translator to take פלא as 'hidden'.

7. They give, 'be too hard', 'be extraordinary'. Calvin (1563: 260) took פלא to have the two primary meanings 'be wonderful' and 'be hidden' ('פלא significat esse admirabile, significat etiam absconditum esse'), with a resultant metaphorical sense 'be difficult'. Cf. Ellison's free rendition, 'Is anything so wonderful as to be beyond my control?' (1965: 108).

8. E.g. Payne Smith (1875: 483); Duhm (1901: 267) and many since.

9. This last reference is the only other use of פלא in Jeremiah; it comes in a parallel passage, and refers to God's 'wonderful' deeds of rescue (such as the exodus). It is followed by ביד נטויה ובזרוע חזקה (21.5), another near-parallel phrase. The implication is that פלא in Jer. 32.17, 27 also has the sense 'wonderful'.

10. Cf. 32[39].2, 3 כלא | φυλάσσω, κατακλείω. Oddly, HR lists פלא as the equivalent for the entry under κρύπτω (v. 27), but places an obelus opposite the entry under ἀποκρύπτω (v. 17).

'hidden' in this sense. The closest sense is 'to keep back (physically)'.[11]

I can only conclude that LXXV contained פלא, and that G, like Tg Pesh, took it to mean 'hidden' here, though not in Jer. 21.2.[12] This, then, looks to be contextual exegesis that avoids the suggestion—even the negative suggestion—that something could be impossible for God.[13] The fact that God sees all was presumably considered beyond question, so that it was quite safe to speak of nothing being hidden from him.

4.2.3

שמו (v. 18). Vg: *nomen tibi*, θ′: ※ ὄνομα αὐτῷ. The third-person form in a second-person prayer is quite acceptable (cf. Volz 1920: 242-43). Vg has rendered with the target language in view.

4.2.4

עד היום (v. 20). *BHS:* '1 ועד' (so RSV, NEB), *L′* 87: καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας. *BHS* is simply seeking to avoid exegetical difficulties. This was Rudolph's solution to the problem of the implication that the plagues of Egypt continue to the present (1967: 210). Michaelis, on the other hand, suggests that עד היום הזה has been transposed from v. 21, where it seems to fit well.[14] Some consider the words a gloss (Hitzig 1866: 263). Others, however, have endeavoured to leave the text alone. Thus Jerome (Migne 1845: 1084) links the words with what follows, and Calvin, more convincingly, says that it is not that God performed miracles in every age, but that they were worthy of being perpetually remembered.[15] More recently, Weiser (1982: 297-98) has reinforced Calvin's position by tying the prayer to the cultic tradition, in which the fundamental salvation-historical acts were celebrated as present events.[16] In short, any

11. Qal, Gen. 23.6; ni., Gen. 8.2; Exod. 36.6; Ezek. 31.15.

12. This understanding of the word has influenced some older commentators, e.g. Lowth (1718: 281); Scott (1823: 3b2).

13. Hayward (p. 26) includes this as one of several exegetical traditions common to G Tg.

14. 'Estne עד היום הזה transpositum ex versu 21, in quo locum bene tueri posse videtur, in nostrum?' (1793: 262).

15. 'Dicit autem, usque ad diem hunc, non quòd Deus ediderit miracula tot seculis: sed intelligit digna esse quæ perpetuò celebrentur, & in omnes ætates' (1563: 261).

16. Weiser stresses that Jeremiah was a priest's son, no doubt steeped in this tradition. Not unexpectedly, he is one of the few modern critics who assigns vv. 17-23 to the prophet himself.

alteration of M is not only both speculative and uncertain (being one of several options), but unnecessary in the first place.

4.2.5

ובמורא (v. 21). Tg: ובחזונא, Pesh: ܘܒܚܙܘܐ, Vg: *et in terrore*, σ´: καὶ ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις, α´: ‹καὶ› ἐν φοβήματι, G: καὶ ἐν ὁράμασι. The rendition 'appearance(s)', common to Tg Pesh σ´, suggests a confusion of ירא and ראה. But what sort of confusion is involved? Scalise (Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 144) suggests that *ובמראה underlies Pesh (Tg), but this is surely unnecessary. Migsch retroverts G to *ובמרא, arguing that the defective form was (mis)interpreted by the translator as coming from ראה (1996: 69). This is a better explanation, though it is final א and not final ה that is given to dropping out.[17] But an examination of translation patterns for this word reveals a surprising consistency:

	MT(=Vg)	Septuagint	*Targ Onq.*	Pesh	Sam. Pent.
Deut. 4.34[18]	ובמוראים	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν	ובחזונין	ܚܙܘܐ	מראים
26.8	ובמרא	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν	ובחזונא	ܚܙܘܐ	מראה
34.12	המורא	τὰ θαυμάσια[19]	חזונא	ܚܙܘܐ	מראה
Exod. 3.3	המראה	τὸ ὅραμα	חזונא	ܚܙܘܐ	מראה
Deut. 28.34	ממראה	διὰ τὰ ὁράματα	מיחיזו	ܚܙܘܐ	מראה
28.67	וממראה	καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁραμάτων	ומיחיזו	ܚܙܘܐ	מראה

The first three examples include every use of מורא in the 'out of Egypt' formula, other than Jer. 32.21 (Deut. 34.12 is a variation on the theme). The last three examples provide cases of the 'normal' situation מראה | ὅραμα. As far as the Septuagint is concerned, the best explanation seems to be that of Weissert, that it has engaged in a type of etymological exegesis he calls 'form-association'.[20] Thus מורא (not necessarily spelled defectively) was analysed by the translator as coming

17. One might find the final ה from a ל״ה root being replaced by ו, י or א, but not dropping out altogether (GKC §23l).

18. The fragments 4QDeut^{h,o} contain this verse, but neither of them includes the word in question.

19. The text of G is problematic here, involved in a large transposition.

20. A term coined by Weissert (1973: 36) to describe the presumed analysis by the translators of different roots as if they were the same root (Tov [1997: 175] gives the examples of ירא and ראה; ישב and שבב; נאם and נום). Weissert traces this back to Alexandrian theories of Greek grammar, which he infers were applied to the Hebrew verb.

from ראה, not ירא. Pesh might then be taken as dependent on the Septuagint. But such reasoning is harder to apply to *Targ. Onq.* and Sam. Pent. Indeed, the broad agreement across the versions has been taken as reflecting a common exegetical tradition. Thus Weitzman (1999: 96) says, 'apparently the meaning "sight(s)" better fitted the preceding mention of "signs and wonders" in [Deut. 4.34]. In such cases, both the Targums and P[esh] depend on post-biblical reflection on the meaning because the original sense was lost.'[21] Weitzman's focus is on Pesh and Tg (cf. p. 109), and he does not explore the shared readings of the Septuagint and Sam. Pent. One might suppose, particularly in the case of Sam. Pent., that once the first reference had been established as a form of מראה, the rest would be brought into line,[22] but we are still faced with the need to resolve the twin possibilities of grammar and exegetical tradition.

If we require a different explanation in every version for the same feature, then it would be more economical to conclude that M is secondary, as Kent has done in Jer. 32.21 (1910: 283). The only other conclusion that seems viable is—first—that the two forms were intermingled as Weissert suggested, but more widely. After all, there is significant overlap of forms, such as the homograph וירא. In his discussion of this phenomenon, Tov (1997: 176 n. 30) notes that 'in the Passover Haggadah, מֹרָא גדל (Deut. 26.8) is explained as the "revelation of God's presence", probably on the basis of מראה'. And—secondly—a widespread tendency to treat the forms ירא/ראה with a certain fluidity paved the way for a common understanding of the 'out of Egypt' verses in early Jewish tradition. Such a scenario is sufficient to preclude emendation of M, and also allows the reconstruction LXXV = M.

4.2.6

K וּבְתֹרוֹתֶךָ Q וּבְתוֹרָתְךָ (v. 23). Eb 22: ובתורָתך (Q), Tg: ובאוריתך (Q: vocalized as pl. in Sperber and Walton), Pesh: ܘܒܢܡܘܣܟ (Q), Vg: *et in lege tua* (Q), *L*´: τῳ νόμῳ, α´ Syh: ἐν νόμῳ σου, G: τοῖς προστάγμασι (*BHS* retroverts G to רוֹתֶךָ–), Arab = pl. (Walton).[23]

21. Compare Hayward (137 n. 14) on Tg Jer. 32.21: 'Possibly the vision of the Shekinah at the Exodus is meant'.

22. The Sam. Pent. reading מראים is ambiguous, and more likely if anything to be from מורא, since the pl. of מַרְאֶה is unattested.

23. Blayney (1784: 217) notes that 25 or 26 MSS and 7 editions read with the Masora, and one MS reads ובחרתך. Aleppo (*HUB*) reads with *BHS*.

The following discussion begins by examining the Hebrew problem, after which it turns to the Greek problem as a separate question.

תורה in the OT is generally singular, probably reflecting the belief that there is only one Torah. This belief is seen in early Jewish interpretation, both from the LXX, where the sg. νόμος is the commonest translation for the pl. תורות, and from later rabbinic discussions.[24] תורה is pl. just 11 out of 212 times, and the breakdown for תורה with suffix is as follows:[25]

	Gen.–Deut.	Jer.	Other prophets	Pss.	Other writings
1.sg. תורתי	Exod. 16.4	6×*	4×	4×	4×
1.pl. תורותי	Gen. 26.5; Exod. 16.28	—	—	—	—
2.sg. תורתך	Deut. 33.10†	32.23 Q	—	25 (23× in Ps. 119)	Dan. 9.11; Neh. (3×)
2.pl. תורותך	—	32.23 K	—	—	—
3.sg. תורתו	—	44.23	Isa. (2×); Ezek. 43.11 K; 44.5 K	1.2; 78.10	—
3.pl. תורותיו	Exod. 18.16	—	Ezek. 43.11 Q; 44.5 Q	105.45	Dan. 9.10

*Jer. 6.19; 9.12; 16.11; 26.4; 31.33; 44.10; †Pl. in $\mathfrak{m}^{Mss}$ Pesh.

This makes the pl. *kethib* reading the *lectio difficilior*, and, given the lack of parallel for either reading, there is no literary factor that would make one reading more likely. The only possible exception is Daniel 9, which clearly takes its inspiration from Jeremiah (both from the name Jeremiah in v. 2 and the style and vocabulary of the following prayer). Both תורה and תורות are found in Daniel 9, but it is the pl. in v. 10 that shows the strongest affinity for Jeremiah 32.23:

Jer. 32.23	לא שמעו בקולך	ובתרותך לא הלכו
Dan. 9.10	ולא שמענו בקול יהוה אלהינו	ללכת בתורתיו

Thus a strong case can be made for the originality of the *kethib,* based on the emphasis in ancient exegesis that there is only one Torah (see further on G below), and on the parallel in Daniel. But against these

24. See Blank (1930: 279-80), and the controversy between Shammai and Hillel in *Šab.* 31a.

25. When three or fewer cases occur, all are given. תורות (pl.) without suffix occurs in Exod. 18.20; Lev. 26.46; Isa. 24.5; Neh. 9.13.

literary and theological factors we must set the following orthographic details.

Of the 13 times תורה appears in pl., only Jer. 32.23 and Neh. 9.13 (ותורות) have the ending רות–. The norm is תורת, and the pronominal suffix resolves cases of ambiguity (e.g. Exod. 18.16 תורתיו; but note Ezek. 43.11; 44.5 K תורתו Q תורתיו). This leads us to expect תורתיך in Jeremiah 32, and the fact that two separate orthographic oddities must be presupposed to defend the *kethib* begins to make a simple metathesis from an original sg. *תורתך → תרותך seem more likely. Though similarly defective 2.pl. suffixes can be found (e.g. Jer. 38.22 רגלך; Josh. 1.8 דרכך), it is even more common to find ו involved in transpositions (e.g. Jer. 2.25 K גורנך Q גרונך; 9.7; 17.23 K שמוע Q שומע; 27.1; 29.23; 32.23; 42.20).[26] Against this background, the unanimity of the versions against not ony M *kethib*, but G, lends support to the *qere*.

In the case of G an extra problem must be considered, namely that of LXXV. πρόσταγμα is not only an unusual choice for תורה (νόμος is expected),[27] but the Greek translators were very careful about the words they chose for terms signifying divine law (Blank 1930: 259). Blank believes that 'the degree of uniformity is in fact so great that inconsistencies invite speculation as to why the norm is not followed' (p. 260). When it comes to Jer. 32.23, he seems undecided as to whether πρόσταγμα is a free rendering for תורה, or translates חקה/חק (pp. 275-76). This question is probably decided by Bar. 1.18 and 2.10. These verses quote Dan. 9.10, but where the latter uses νόμος for תורות (both LXX and θ´), Bar. has πρόσταγμα, suggesting an idiosyncracy of Jeremiah β'.[28] The real problem, however, is whether LXXV was sg. or pl.

The general trend is for תורת and תורה to be translated either by νόμος (sg.), or by any other word in the plural (νόμιμα, ἐντολάς, λόγοι).[29] So

26. See Graf 1862: 410; Naegelsbach 1868: 234. Duhm's view seems less likely, that the lack of י led the *qere* to put down a sg. (1901: 267).

27. תורה | νόμος Jer. 2.8; 6.19; 8.8; 9.12; 16.11; 18.18; 31[38].33 (pl. for Heb. sg.); בתורתי | ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις μου Jer. 26[33].4. For Jer. 44[51].10, 23 see n. 31. תורה is rendered by πρόσταγμα in 2 Chron. 19.10; Jer. 32.23; 44[51].10, and by the related τάξις in Prov. 31.26[25 LXX].

28. So Tov (1976: 116), who cites this as an example of 'Bar = Jer-R ≠ Jer-OG'.

29. Blank 1930: 279: 'The reason for the plural is probably this, that whereas νόμος might signify a body of laws, with collective force, the other renderings do not have such a significance in the singular'. Neh. 9.13 is the only case where νόμοι (pl.) renders תורות.

far, LXXV could be sg. or pl. Are there any exceptions? 2 Kgs 21.8; 2 Chron. 30.16 have תורה | ἐντολή (sg.); 2 Chron. 19.10 has תורה | πρόσταγμα (sg.). But the evidence is scant: there are no other instances of πρόσταγμα translating תורה, sg. or pl. And תורת (pl.) is translated by νόμος all but four times (when it is rendered νόμιμα pl.). As an equivalent for other terms (מצוה, חק), πρόσταγμα tends to replicate the number of the Hebrew, except where a Hebrew sg. could be taken collectively.[30] But there are exceptions even here, and though we can say that πρόσταγμα probably represents תורה/תורת, we are in no position to guess at its number.[31]

4.3 *Comments on the Septuagint*

4.3.1

ἀπὸ προσώπου ‹τῆς› μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ Zi.] om. τῆς codd. gr. (v. 24). Ziegler argues that G always includes the article when translating an articular genitive following מפני (1958: 139-40). Thus he adds ‹τῆς› in this one case where all MSS attestation is lacking. However, this judgment is open to question. As Soderlund (1985: 151-52) points out, conjectural emendations in Jeremiah have the effect of bringing G closer to M, and this involves the difficult issues of both *Vorlage* and translation technique. Thus, in this instance, Ziegler's emendation supposes consistency in translation on the second count, and either LXXV = M or conscious harmonizing by the translator on the first count. A substantial essay on the definite article in G forms the background to Ziegler's judgment (1958: 114-69).

30. Blank 1930: 263, 270.

31. Jer. 44[51].10, 23 provide another example of the difficulties of the problem:

v. 10	בתורתי ובחקתי	τῶν προσταγμάτων μου
v. 23	ובתרתו (sg.)	1. καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ (pl.)
	ובחקתיו (pl.)	2. καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ (sg.)
	ובעדותיו (pl.)	3. καὶ ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις αὐτοῦ (pl.)

In v. 10, LXXV could include either one of the terms in M, or even both if we allow some freedom. In v. 23, line 1 is acceptable both in lexeme and number; line 2 is unusual, but compare חק | νόμος Jer. 31[38].35; חקות (pl.) | πρόσταγμα (sg.) Jer. 5.24 (also Blank 1930: 268-70). On the other hand, there could well be a transposition in LXXV v. 23. And, indeed, the order is unstable, with 2-1-3] *O* Aeth; 2-3-1] *L´* 544 Arm; 1-3-2] 534; 1-2-3] rel.

Of specific interest to us is the formula חרב + רעב (± דֶּבֶר) in Jeremiah.[32] Translation equivalents are as follows:

חרב	μάχαιρος (ῥομφαία in 38[45]–44[51])	= 'S.'
רעב	λιμός	= 'F.'
דבר	θάνατος (ἀποστολή in 32[39].36)	= 'P.'

The words in the series are prefixed in various ways. When prefixed by –ו, –ב, or –וב, G supplies the appropriate καὶ or ἐν but omits the article. When prefixed by –ה or –וה, G generally adds the article.[33] G always joins terms by καὶ, whether or not M has ו.

(1) The short version of the formula is S.F. (S...F. represents terms separated by intervening vocables.) The references in question are:

	M	G	Prefix	References
a.	S.F.	S.F.	no article	5.12; 14.15,*15 [2°];[34] 16.4;[35] 44[51].12, 18, 27
b.	F.S.	S.F.	art. in M and G	14.16 (but τῆς] > B-S-130 A-106′)
c.	S...F.	S...F.	no article	11.22; 14.13, 18
d.	S...F.	S...F.	art. in M and G	42[49].16
e.	S.F.	om.		44.12 [2°]

(2) The long version of the formula is S.F.P. The references in question are:

32. In addition to the listed references, there are some series that look similar but insert other terms (15.2; 18.21; 28[35].8; 43[50].11). Outside Jeremiah the series in one form or another is found mainly in Ezekiel. For a detailed study of the literary history of this triad, and an argument for its origination with Jeremiah (rather than Deuteronom[ist]ic revisers), see Weippert (1973: 148-91).

33. Compare Ziegler's observations on the renderings of noun + prep. combinations: G often drops the article because LXXV was unpointed, but it is by no means consistent (1958: 136). In cases where the article in G represents the article in M, he mentions (in relation to אל השמים) that neither translator nor recensors were consistent in their inclusion of the article. In the case of על הספר, the article was inconsistently used in M, so that judging G is difficult (p. 137). Ziegler works throughout from the assumption that LXXV = M.

34. G was expanded secondarily, and an original μάχαιρα lost from LXXV (Streane 1896: 141).

35. The sequence in G is broken by a verb brought forward from its place in M.

	M	G	Prefix	References
a.	S.F.P.	S.F.	ב | ἐν, no article	21.9; 27[34].8; 38[45].2; 42[49].17;[36] 42[49].22
b.	S.F.P.	S.F.	ה | article	32[39].24[37]
c.	S.F.P.	S.F.P.	ב | ἐν, no article	14.12; 32[39].36; 44[51].13
d.	variable	variable	ה | article	21.7 = P.S.F | P.F.S; 24.10 = S.P.F | F.P.S.; 34[41].17 = S.P.F. | S.P.F.[38]
e.	S.F.P.	om.		27.13; 29.17, 18.

Ziegler's judgment in the case of 42[49].17 (category 2a), that the articles in G should be deleted, has the reasonably solid basis of 11 other cases where G lacks the article, and some MS support.[39] But in the three cases where the expected article in G is poorly or not at all attested, his case is weaker. Of 6 examples where we expect articles in G (categories 1b, d; 2b, d), half lack the first article of the series. Furthermore, four of them display word order variations. To make this picture clearer, the extracts are reproduced here in full, with each element differently underlined (S. F. P.):

14.16	מפני הרעב והחרב	ἀπὸ προσώπου [a]μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ[b] λιμοῦ
32[39].24	מפני והחרב והרעב והדבר	ἀπὸ προσώπου [c]μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ
34[41].17	אל החרב אל הדבר ואל הרעב	εἰς [d]μάχαιραν καὶ εἰς τὸν θάνατον καὶ εἰς τὸν λιμὸν
24.10	את החרב את הרעב ואת הדבר	τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν
21.7	מן הדבר מן החרב ומן הרעב	ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μαχαίρας
42[49].16	החרב... והרעב	ἡ ῥομφαία...καὶ ὁ λιμός

[a] B-S-130 A-106-410; rel add τῆς; [b] S om.; [c] Zi. add τῆς; rel. om.; [d] *L´* Tht. Zi. add τὴν; rel. om.

I have collated this information differently from Ziegler, who exam-

36. Uniquely, G adds the article to both terms. Ziegler deletes with Q-V (1958: 138).

37. The first term lacks the article in G, but Ziegler restores it conjecturally (1958: 140).

38. The first article is lacking in G, but Ziegler restores it without comment, following *L´* Tht.

39. Incidentally, haplography is intrinsically possible in categories (2a) and (2b).

ined the behaviour of the article when used with noun + prep., and again when used with *status constructus* + prep. This means that the first two examples above were not connected with the third (which has the preposition אל, not the cs. form מפני) or, indeed, the last three.[40] When the series 'S.F.P.' is examined as an entity, however, it conveys the impression that consistency is lost when the article intrudes.

Regarding the transpositions, the order 'S.F.' is reversed twice in G (but not M) and once in M (but not G), militating against a theory of M harmonization. 'P.' is brought forward twice in G (and M), and once in G (but not M), once again ruling out harmonization. No mechanical (textual) explanation suggests itself; in some cases, but not all, a literary one does. In the last analysis, it seems that word order was simply subject to variation in the presence of extraneous elements (i.e. prepositions or the article).

4.4 *Quantitative Variants*

4.4.1
פקחות | > (v. 19). Versions and α´ follow M (Tg somewhat paraphrastically). The closest parallels to M v. 19 come in two prayers (2 Kgs 19.16 = Isa. 37.17; cf. Dan. 9.18) and an oracle (Zech. 12.4). In all cases except Isaiah 37, the Septuagint represents פקח. The closest parallel in Jeremiah is 16.17: כי עיני על כל דרכיהם (cf. Job 24.23; 34.21). This, the sole use of פקח in Jeremiah, would thus appear to be a recensional addition; there is little scope for haplography in G or its *Vorlage*.

4.4.2
על כל דרכי | εἰς τὰς[41] ὁδοὺς (v. 19). כל is probably a secondary addition,[42] though parablepsis in LXXV is possible (על כל).

40. By Ziegler's method, the statistics improve somewhat, but not unequivocally. מפני is used ten times before ה, in three of which the article in G is poorly attested (the third verse is 48[31].44, where only 51-*l* have the article). The references he does not list on p. 140 are 25[32].27; 42[49].17; 44[51].22; in the last two G lacks προσώπου. There is thus enough variation here to make Ziegler's smoothing out of the text debatable.

41. The article is omitted by Q-V, and because these uncials normally include the article—often despite its absence in B-S A—Ziegler admits of uncertainty as to its originality here (1958: 150-51).

42. Cf. Janzen 1973: 65-67.

4.4.3

כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו | κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ (v. 19). Tg Pesh Vg = M. Jer. 17.10 is the closest parallel: ולתת לאיש כדרכו כפרי מעלליו (*qere* = כדרכיו). With K are 4QJer^{a}, Eb 10,[43] Vg *viam;* with Q, Tg כאורחתיה (as vocalized in Sperber), Pesh ܐܘܪܚܬܗ, G τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ. K is most probably the original reading, with Tg Pesh G harmonizing the number of 'way' with that of 'deeds'.[44] The same phenomenon is seen in 4.18, דרכך ומעלליך | αἱ ὁδοί σου καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματά σου (Vg Pesh Tg = 'ways'). The pl. in G 4.18 probably comes from the translator, arising by the proximity of the two words. On every other occasion when 'ways' and 'deeds' are adjacent vocables in M, they are pl. in M and G.[45] When they are two or more vocables apart, 'way' is sg.[46] 17.10 and 32[39].19 are intermediate cases, with just one vocable intervening. It is hard to say whether we should expect 'way' to be sg. or pl., and the evidence is split (in addition to the two Jeremianic verses, Ezek. 36.31 is pl. in M and G).

One possibility is that M is inconsistent (as it is in 4.18), so that M 32.19 is original, while LXXV suffered haplography (כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו). However, a second contraction would be required to shed the pl. י. It is better to deduce from the sg. in G that LXXV lacked the pl. מעלליו necessary to attract a pl. rendition of *כדרכו (an attraction also reflected in the reading tradition of M 17.10). That the sg. reflects *כדרכו is probable, since, in the absence of מעלל, Jeremiah β' invariably renders דרך sg. by ὁδός sg. (13 times). The rendition דרך (sg.) | ὁδοί (pl.), on the other hand, is found 8 out of 20 times in Jeremiah α' and 8 out of 19 times in Ezekiel, providing further evidence for the theory of a reviser for Jeremiah β' (Tov 1976).

I therefore suggest a secondary expansion of M 32.19 from 17.10,[47] although the subsequent pluralizing of *דרכו that must have occurred so as to harmonize with מעלליו is unexpected, given that 17.10 (K) is content with the sg.

43. *BHS* cites the Genizah fragments as supporting Q; the only one of which we are aware follows K.

44. Many MSS and versions omit the initial ו (Eb 10 Vg Tg [Cod. Reuchlinianus only: Hayward, 98]), and/or add ו before כפרי (G Vg Pesh), thus bringing the parallel closer.

45. Jer. 7.3, 5; 18.11 [G om.]; Hos. 4.9; 12.3; Zech. 1.6.

46. Jer. 25.5; 26[33].3; 35[42].15; 23.22 [G om. 'way']; cf. Judg. 2.19, where the terms are, uniquely, reversed. In Zech. 1.4, however, M and G have 'ways'.

47. In 32.19, note τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ] τας οδους αυτων (-του Bo) S Bo.

4.4.4

לתת להם | > (v. 22). This is an unusual omission in G, in that these words are generally in this formula, in both versions.[48] Migsch (1996: 355 n. 104) finds a parallel between Jer. 32.21-22 and Deut. 26.8-9, appealing to 'distant chiastic parallelism' (Talmon 1975: 358-78). However, the parallelism applies only for 32.21—the fact that Deut. 26.9 lacks אשר נשבעת לאבותם לתת להם means that not only M, but G, is guilty of adding to its Deuteronomic source in Jer. 32[39].22.[49] Those wedded to a theory of wholesale M expansion see a gloss from Jer. 11.5 (e.g. Janzen 1973: 49), but I consider it more likely that the usual formula existed here, and suffered haplography in LXXV (לאבותם לתת להם).

4.4.5

לעשות לא עשו | οὐκ ἐποίησαν (v. 23). The lack of an equivalent for לעשות is probably a stylistic omission. Since G uses τοῦ ποιῆσαι for לעשות,[50] the literal τοῦ ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι no doubt seemed impossibly laboured.[51]

4.4.6

הסללות | ὄχλος (v. 24). Haplography in G (ὁ ὄχλος) or LXXV (הנה הסללות) suggests itself.[52]

4.4.7

הכשדים | Χαλδαίων (vv. 24, 25, 43). Analysing the way the translator(s) dealt with the article is a complex undertaking, as Ziegler shows (1958: 114-47). The picture is not clear, and Ziegler starts with parallel texts, immediate contexts and oft-repeated expressions (p. 114). His conclusion is that G is inconsistent and often careless (p. 116), and has often (though by no means always) lost the article by haplography

48. They are missing from Deut. 6.18; 8.1, but present in 13 other formulas in Deuteronomy involving הארץ (also Exod. 13.5; Josh. 1.6; 5.6; Jer. 11.5; absent from Num. 11.12; 14.23; Judg. 2.1).

49. The Septuagint of Deut. 26.8 adds ἐν ἰσχύι μεγάλῃ before ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, further weakening the parallel.

50. Exceptions: τοῦ ποιεῖν once, ποιῆσαι once.

51. Stipp (1997: 198) considers לעשות part of the 'pre-Masoretic idiolect', as it occurs twice in M but never in G, but this is one of his weaker examples, especially considering the contextual motivations for G omission in our verse.

52. Cf. Ziegler 1958: 32.

(p. 120).[53] In the case of construct-genitive expressions, G usually supplies the article when the Hebrew genitive noun is definite, but the general picture is for the article to be inserted secondarily during MS transmission (pp. 128, 140).

An examination of usage with Χαλδαῖος bears this out. Six times G adds the article when absent in M.[54] Jer. 32[39].24, 25, 43 are the only cases where G lacks the article for Χαλδαῖος where M has one (though α´ characteristically restores the article here—cf. Ziegler 1958: 155-56). On the strength of these data, Migsch (1996: 357-58) argues that LXXV = *כשדים. He suggests that M added the article in these three places to bring them into line with הכשדים in vv. 4, 5, 28, 29. He notes that vv. 24, 25, 43 could all be citing the addressees, perhaps reflecting their way of speech.

One potential flaw in his case is that ביד/מיד never precedes כשדים, but only הכשדים;[55] indeed, the only anarthrous names it precedes in Jeremiah are those of individuals. This pattern holds good for all names throughout the OT. Thus we find <מיד/ביד + PN> (anarthrous) 163 times, but only (1) with the names of individuals (Moses, Nebuchadrezzar, etc.); and (2) nations/peoples with singular name-forms: Israel, Midian, Moab. The only exceptions to this are Egypt and the Philistines,[56] which never take the article in MT, and only twice in the Septuagint.[57] On the other hand, we find <מיד/ביד + ה + PN> 20 times, but only (3) with individual members of groups, whether used to denote (a) individuals,[58] or (b) the group as a whole;[59] and (4) nations/peoples with plural name-forms.[60] Though MT is perfectly consistent here, the Septuagint is not. Excluding group (3a), where the article is obligatory, the Septuagint omits the article 6 out of 15 times.

53. Haplography becomes likely when (a) the article is omitted in only some of the MSS, and (b) it is intrinsically likely (e.g. πάντα <u>τὰ</u>; πάντων <u>τῶν</u>).

54. 37[44].10; 50[27].35; 52.7, 8, 14, 17 (52.8, 14 involve construct relations).

55. 22.25; 38[45].18; 43[50].3; five times in Jeremiah 32[39]; unattested outside Jeremiah.

56. And Kittim in Num. 24.24.

57. Exod. 14.30, τῶν Αἰγυπτίων; 2 Sam. 8.1, τῶν ἀλλοφύλων.

58. 'This Philistine', 1 Sam. 17.37; 'the Egyptian', 2 Sam. 23.21 = 1 Chron. 11.23 (twice each verse).

59. 'The Amorite', <u>Gen. 48.22</u>; <u>Deut. 1.27</u>; Josh. 7.7. Septuagint is anarthrous in the underlined references.

60. 'Gibeonites', 2 Sam. 21.9; 'Levites', 2 Chron. 24.11; 30.16; 'Ishmaelites', <u>Gen. 39.1</u>; 'Chaldeans' (eight times in Jeremiah).

In Jer. 32[39].24, 25, 43 it could therefore be G, rather than LXXV or M, that is the text creating light and shade.[61] Note also that these verses alone share the phrase נתנה ביד הכשדים,[62] so that a dropped article in one could cause resultant adjustment in the other two. Though a unique —if not aberrant—*Vorlage* in these three places is theoretically possible, the nature of the plus (an inseparable particle) and the pattern of use in MT combine to make it doubtful.[63]

4.4.8

והדבר | > (v. 24). It seems most probable that this M plus is a recensional feature. Theoretically, G haplography is possible, τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, but given the fact that, where M has all three elements of the triad ('S.F.P.'), G lacks the third on 6 out of 12 occasions (§4.3.1), an argument for haplography approaches special pleading. The only other possibility is one of intentional abridgment, as maintained by Giesebrecht (1894: 117).[64]

4.4.9

והנך ראה | > (v. 24). There is a chance of G haplography (καὶ [ἰδοὺ] σὺ ὁρᾷς καὶ σὺ λέγεις; היה והנך ראה is less likely), but a literary mechanism for the variant is also possible. The originality of the words has often been defended, whether on principle,[65] or because it accords with the scholar's taste,[66] or because of supposed artistic[67] or theological[68] scruples of the translator or copyist. Tg provides supporting evidence of ancient reservations about this expression.[69] On the other hand, Bogaert

61. The tendency for the article to be added, not lost, during the transmission of G weighs against an original τῶν.

62. 38[45].18 is similar, but the word order differs, and it is removed from our context.

63. If LXXV did lack the article, then M should probably be judged a secondary harmonization, but even here there is doubt, particularly if the other similarities in G between vv. 24, 25, 43 are judged secondary (§6.6).

64. Van der Kooij (1994: 68) argues that G has abbreviated its *Vorlage* in the parallel phrase of 27[34].8.

65. Giesebrecht 1894: 180.

66. Ehrlich (1968 [1912]: 326), whose suggestions are generally aimed at improving the flow of the passage as he sees it.

67. Duhm 1901: 268.

68. Rudolph 1968: 211; Holladay 1989: 217.

69. וקדמך גלי, 'is revealed before you'. Although it is probably correct to say

(1995: 65) regards the plus as an example of M's concern with the effectiveness of the divine word. As is so often the case, equivocal textual evidence must be combined with a literary argument before a judgment can be made. In my judgment, the clause does not have the character of a 'natural accretion' (Streane 1896: 223), and since haplography in G is relatively rare, Zlotowitz's appeal to it is somewhat strained (1981: 63). Though Zlotowitz is right to claim that G tolerates anthropomorphisms, this statement could be taken to imply divine ignorance, so that theologically motivated abridgment seems the most likely cause.

4.4.10

אדני יהוה | > (v. 25). Although an uncial MS with abbreviations could easily suffer loss (ΠΡΟΣΜΕ̱Κ̱Ε̱), *pace* Migsch (1996: 359 n. 119), this is almost certainly a recensional feature.[70]

4.4.11

בכסף | ἀργυρίου (v. 25). That v. 44 reads בכסף | ἐν ἀργυρίῳ does not point to a variant *Vorlage* in v. 25; the translation is semantically accurate.[71] The variation in G v. 44 simply shows that the translator is not striving to render this type of expression stereotypically (cf. the varied rendition of prepositions, e.g. §6.2.1).

4.4.12

והעד עדים | καὶ ἔγραψα βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην καὶ ἐπεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας (v. 25). Not only has G carried over more material from v. 10, but it has preserved the verbal aspect in the new location. As we are dealing with language virtually unique to this chapter,[72] the three extracts laid out below provide us with the most significant parallel contexts, and, coming as they do at key points in the chapter, we can expect literary considerations to play a larger than usual part in the text history of the respective versions.[73]

that קדם is not anti-anthropomorphic in itself (Klein 1979), the change of both verb and subject leaves little room for doubt here.

70. Holladay (1989: 205) notes the similar M plus אדני המלך in 38.9.

71. See Blass (§179) on the genitive of price and value; cf. Acts 7.16.

72. קנה and שדה come together 16 times: 6 concern purchases by the patriarchs, two (Lev. 27.24; Ruth 4.5) relate to Jubilee legislation, and apart from Neh. 5.16, the rest are in Jeremiah 32. The language of writing and sealing occurs only 5 times elsewhere (1 Kgs 21.8; Neh. 9.38; Est. 3.12; 8.8, 10).

73. I avoid literary-critical considerations, however, because of the added

v. 7	v. 25	v. 44	v. 7	v. 25	v. 44
קנה לך את שדי	קנה לך השדה בכסף	 שדות בכסף	κτη. σεαυτῷ τὸν ἀγρὸν	κτη. σεαυτῷ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀργυρίου	κτήσονται ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀργυρίῳ
v. 10		יקנו	v. 10		
ואכתב בספר ואחתם ואעד עדים	 והעד עדים	וכתוב בספר וחתום והעד עדים	καὶ ἔγραψα εἰς βιβλίον καὶ εσφραγ. καὶ διεμαρτ.	καὶ ἔγραψα βιβλίον καὶ εσφραγ. καὶ επεμαρτ.	καὶ γράψεις εἰς βιβλίον καὶ σφραγιῇ καὶ διαμαρτ.
v. 24		v. 43	v. 24		v. 43 (v. 28)
נתנה ביד הכ׳	נתנה ביד הכ׳	נתנה ביד הכ׳	ἐδόθη...	ἐδόθη...	παρεδοθ....

The appearance of G is at once more homogenous and more haphazard. In the number and positioning of terms, the three excerpts match closely. Thus, κτήσονται precedes ἀγροὺς in v. 44, and, apart from ἀργυρίου/-ῳ, every possible term is found in all three places (vv. 7 + 10, 25, 44).[74] In addition, the verbs of the series 'write...seal...witness' are closely matched aspectually from one verse to the next. It is evident that v. 25 has been made to match vv. 7 + 10 closely, and that v. 44 has been conformed to both of the previous texts. Since neither abbreviation nor parablepsis in M is likely (והעד would have to be a corruption of *ואעד in order to provide a mechanism for the loss *ואכתב...ואעד), we must look to G for an explanation of the variants.[75] It is unlikely, however, that the translator is the one responsible. For if he were trying to harmonize the accounts, why did he not write ἐν ἀργυρίῳ and εἰς βιβλίον every time? To be sure, a haplography in LXXV (*ותכתב בספר) may account for the latter rendition, but the *Vorlagen* of the two versions of the former are in all probability identical.[76] Note also the inconsistent rendition of נתנה. Apparently, the quantitative differences go back to LXXV.

On the other hand, M, though less extensive, agrees with v. 44—as

element of doubt. For example, Janzen (1973: 64) comments, 'The brevity of MT accords well with what may originally have been a very terse prayer.'

74. The reflexive pronoun is obviously inappropriate in the generalized context of v. 44.

75. A few commentators, however, have preferred G (Cornill 1905: 365-66; Peake 1911: 121).

76. So retrovert Min (1977: 132), Stulman (1985: 81) and Stipp (1994: 146). Janzen (1973: 211 n. 80) disagrees about the identity of LXXV, but still agrees that this plus goes back to LXXV. He also notes, 'It is very odd that there is no trace of Hexaplaric correction in v. 25.'

far as it goes—in just the places where G is different. בכסף, והעד עדים and נתנה ביד הכשדים are all exact parallels (the fact that העד must be read as imv. in v. 25 and inf. abs. in v. 44 does not detract from this). The main difference is the displacement of יקנו in v. 44. Yet each context has its own tone: first-person narrative in the past in vv. 7 + 10; imperative reported speech in v. 25; future tense in v. 44, with the inf. abs. forms giving a sense of simultaneous action to what had been a sequence of events in v. 10. Like the Greek text, M v. 44 quotes from both previous contexts, but without lexical or syntactic levelling.

It would be very unlike the translator to expand his *Vorlage,* and his lack of interest in parallels is clear from vv. 43-44. Although a marginal gloss in LXXV containing a citation from v. 10 is possible, alteration of the text itself is still required. Did a corruption of *והעד to ואעד subsequently attract the gloss? A secondary revision in LXXV is a simpler solution from a purely textual standpoint.

4.5 *Qualitative Variants*

4.5.1

הנטויה | τῷ ὑψηλῷ (v. 17); נטויה | ὑψηλῷ (v. 21). Although ὑψηλός most often renders במה, this equivalence is mostly confined to the former prophets. Its most common use in Deuteronomy is for נטה pass. ptc. in the set phrase ביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה. Indeed, ὑψηλός is used in every occurrence and variation of this phrase in the OT except for Jer. 21.5, which is also the only case in which the adjectives are attached to the opposite nouns.[77] This suggests a translator attuned to set phrases and ready to indicate departures from them by his choice of equivalents.

4.5.2

לא | οὐ μὴ (v. 17). See §3.5.4. In M, the discourse of vv. 17-25 begins with a dual prominence in vv. 17-18: first, הנה highlights עשית, so throw-

77. Weippert 1973: 76. The phrase occurs in Deut. 4.34; 5.15; 7.19; 11.2; 1 Kgs 8.42; Ezek. 20.23, 24; Ps. 136.12; 2 Chron. 6.32. It is the form found in Jer. 32.21, referring to redemption. Interestingly, the two uses of the formula to refer to creation (Jer. 27.5; 32.17) adopt a minor variant of the phrase, בכח גדול ובזרוע נטויה (Deut. 9.29; 2 Kgs 17.36). When we remember that 21.5 is an expression of judgment, the impression gained from M/LXXV is of a writer who carefully varies the form of this set phrase so as to differentiate between its various functions. The translator is thus following the spirit of his exemplar when he varies the wording of 21.5.

ing the spotlight on to God's nature; then, the *x-yiqtol* לא יפלא stands out as the only non-*qatal* finite verb in the prayer. This foreground construction (Niccacci, §56) is rendered in G by οὐ μὴ which, here at any rate, seems to be an emphatic negation and thus to stress the verbal idea. Though not quantitatively literal, οὐ μὴ achieves semantic, even textlinguistic, fidelity. The preceding σὺ ἐποίησας lacks the prominence of M due to the omission of הנה | ἰδοὺ (I shall argue in §4.6.1.3 that הנה dropped from LXXV).

4.5.3
עון | ἁμαρτίας (v. 18); אל חיק | εἰς κόλπους (v. 18); ובמורא גדול | καὶ ἐν ὁράμασι μεγάλοις (v. 21). In no case is LXXV plural. Workman (1889: 349) retroverts ἁμαρτίας to *עונות, with an appeal to Tg חובי, but as 9 out of 20 cases of עון sg. in Jeremiah are rendered pl. by G, this is needless.[78] חיק occurs only here in Jeremiah, but there is little doubt that G has rendered sg. as pl. because of the following בניהם. Likewise, pl. for sg. is normal with ὅραμα.

4.5.4
העליליה | τοῖς ἔργοις (v. 19). Although a few critics have corrected M by G,[79] they were probably influenced by the unique form in M; however, recognition of *-iyyâ* as an abstract ending goes back to Barth (1894: §255) and Cornill (1905: 364); Rudolph (1967: 210) and then *HALAT* have virtually closed the case between them. The pl. in G is thus another case of style (or ignorance?) over exactitude.

4.5.5
אשר עיניך | οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου (v. 19). The versions follow M, though Pesh does not represent the relative (unless in the connective): ܘܥܝܢܝܟ. אשר in M is not a typical expansion. It keeps the flow of the prayer going, where G pauses and makes this clause the introduction to the historical narrative. But most probably LXXV = M here, and the translator has omitted οὗ for stylistic reasons. The preceding passage is longer and more confusing in G, and it may even be that after three

78. In Tg, עון is nearly always rendered pl. (12 out of 20 definite cases, 6 ambiguous cases, 2 exceptions—31.30; 51.6—though Hayward always renders pl.).

79. Delitzsch (1920: 107) emends to העלילות (G Pesh Tg), considering it a case of ה/ת interchange. Duhm (1901: 267) suggests a scribal mistake from עלילה; so also BDB.

stichs in which the three terms are in close parallel (only the third term changes substantially each time),[80] the final stich, ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος, where the divine title comes last, was taken as introducing what follows, perhaps even as a vocative (ō μεγ.). Alternatively, the close proximity in LXXV of *שמו[81] and עיניך could have prompted the translator to make a cleaner break. As Migsch recognizes, אשר—both here and in v. 20—is bound with the following enclitic personal pronoun, not with what precedes it. But his grounds for omitting it as a secondary expansion are only his presumption of G/LXXV superiority.[82] In fact, אשר is a word with which G is often free, because of the different syntax of the two languages at this point.[83]

4.5.6

על כל דרכי | εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς (v. 19). Workman (1889: 349) retroverts εἰς to *אל. Migsch (1996: 354) defends this because the parallels in Jer. 16.17 and Job 14.3 contain על | ἐπι. But though G mostly uses ἐπι for על, it is always willing to vary the word to suit the context.[84] Thus in chs. 32–35[39–42], for example, the normal translation is used 17 times, but there are 14 cases of freer renditions.[85] Our verse is typical of this latter class.

80. ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ ἰσχυρός//κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς // ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

81. Assuming μεγαλώνυμος to represent שמו גדל: see §4.6.2.

82. 1996: 354 n. 95. So also Rothstein 1922: 814; Bogaert 1995: 58.

83. A relative pronoun is often supplied in G where אשר is omitted (Jer. 6.8; 15.14): so Min (1977: 153). Cf. also 33[40].5.

84. '[Several] senses of [אל and על] come to overlap by analogy. Futile is the tendency to emend the MT in order to eliminate some or all of these senses' (Waltke and O'Connor, §11.2.13b).

85. εἰς, 32[39].19; ἀπὸ, 32[39].31, 40; 34[41].21; διὰ, 32[39].32; περὶ, 33[40].4, 4, 5, 9, 9; dat., 35[42].6; acc., 35[42].18; הנלחמים על | πολεμούντων, 32[39].24; פני על | ἐπὶ, 35[42].7. This excludes omissions, such as עליהם, 32.41.

While translation equivalents for על are not always easy to predict, there seem to be firm indicators for the choice of word in translating אל. In Jeremiah 32[39]–35[43] we have observed: (1) after all verbs (mostly but not always of saying) whose object is a person, πρὸς is used (19 cases); (2) after all verbs (infrequently but sometimes of saying) whose object is a thing, εἰς or ἐπὶ is used (20 cases). Exceptions to these rules are (3) שמע...אל | ἀκούω + gen. (4 cases); and (4) more than one אל in succession, in which case G often renders more succinctly. Thus 32[39].8 [3°], 34[41].2 [2°] use the dat. instead of πρὸς (as does 32[39].12), and 35[42].14 [2°], 15 [2°] omit the gen. after ἀκούω. Two text-critical observations follow: LXXV

4.5.7

לתת לאיש | δοῦναι ἑκάστῳ (v. 19). ἕκαστος only ever translates איש in Jeremiah (42 times). Its use in the dative to translate ל is typical (Ziegler 1958: 123).

4.5.8

באדם | ἐν τοῖς γηγενέσι (v. 20). γηγενής means 'earth-born; inhabitant of the earth; man', and is used five or six times in the Septuagint,[86] but only here and in Ps. 49.3 (בני אדם)—two verses that refer to all the inhabitants of the world—does it translate אדם. Our verse looks like another example of nuanced translation, grading up from Egypt to Israel to all humanity.[87] The previous verse reads בני אדם | τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Interestingly, when the occurrences of אדם not bound to בני are examined, only three refer to people in general with no particular group in mind, and G translates by γηγενής here, ἀνήρ in 10.23, and omits in 27[34].5. Every other reference but one[88] is rendered ἄνθρωπος, whether sg. or pl. This suggests that the choice here was deliberate and driven by literary–semantic considerations.

4.5.9

וירשו | καὶ ἐλάβοσαν (v. 23). Although λαμβάνω overlaps in meaning with ירש, this is the only time in the Septuagint such an equivalence occurs. We find ירש | παραλαμβάνω in Jer. 49[30].1, 2, and גאלה | παραλαμβάνω in 32[39].7 used with overtones of inheritance. Possibly the choice at v. 7 brought the equivalence to mind, and a variant form

35[42].14 and (probably) 15 did not lack the final אלי of each verse, as they follow closely upon another אל. Secondly, 34[41].2 is the only exception to observation (1): הלך ואמרת אל צדקיהו | βάδισον πρὸς Σεδεκιαν. This strongly suggests that ואמרת has dropped out of LXXV.

86. Ps. 49[48].3; Prov. 2.18; 9.18; Wis. 7.1; Jer. 49.33[33.11] (with Clem. *O L C*: see Ziegler 1958: 173).

87. G obviously reads אדם as 'humanity', and so does Rashi (*Biblia Rabbinica*, 176; cf. Jarchi 1713: 431), but later commentators have suggested alternatives for M, including giants (Michaelis 1793: 262), Egyptians (Cornill 1905: 365), steppeland (Dahood 1963, who claims this meaning for G, too), or land (Migsch 1996: 176). Hess (1988) has thoroughly defended the meaning 'humanity' here.

88. 49.33[33.11] (γηγενής: see n. 86), a refrain that recalls Sodom and Gomorrah, and is found also in 49.18[29.19] = 50[27].40, which verses use ἄνθρωπος at the equivalent place.

was supplied in v. 23 to avoid lexical levelling. Was the translator avoiding the implication that sinful Israel had a rightful claim upon the land—that is, as heirs?

4.5.10

ותקרא אתם | καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι αὐτοῖς (v. 23). συμβαίνω, 'to befall', occurs just 20 times in the OT, mostly opposite קרה or קרא. This is also the only attestation in MT of קרא hi.,[89] and, in view of the use of συμβαίνω elsewhere to aid the sense of an idiom,[90] G must be accepted as a phrasal rendition of קרא hi.

4.5.11

הסללות | ὄχλος (v. 24). The expected translation might be χάραξ (Isa. 37.33; Ezek. 4.2; 26.8), but Jeremiah has used it in v. 2 for צור. Moreover, there is much variety across the Septuagint when it comes to equivalents for words describing besiegement, earthworks, etc. For סוללה alone, we find χῶμα, πρόσχωμα, χαρακοβολία, χάραξ; adding מצור and דיק gives περιοχή, συνοχή, περίτειχος, προμαχών, etc.[91] However,

89. Where M and G alike make God the subject of the action ('and you made all this evil befall them'), Tg Pesh Vg α´ read as if M were וַתִּקְרָא qal, either ignoring the *nota accusativi*, or taking it for a subject marker, which makes one suspect a theological motivation ('and all this evil befell them'). Ehrlich (1968 [1912]: 325) follows suit, unnecessarily.

Hayward (p. 136 n. *u*) construes Tg differently, however. He renders וערעת להון ית כל בישתא הדא as 'so that you met them with all this evil' (reading ערע I, 'to meet', 2.m.sg.), while noting an alternative translation, 'and you summoned for them all this evil' (reading ערע II, 'to summon', 2.m.sg.). This reflects the presence of ית and the word order, which point to 'evil' as the object. Yet both Walton (עֲרַעַת) and Sperber (עָרְעַת—though MS *l* has the variant עַרְעַת) vocalize ערע as pa. 3.f.sg., a reading Buxtorf (p. 830) says should be accepted despite MT's hiphil, rendering Tg, 'et accidit eis malum hoc' (and this evil happened to them). Unvocalized, Pesh is equally ambiguous, but Walton makes it 3.f.sg.: ܘܓܕܫܬ. Vg (*et evenerunt*) and a´ (συνηντησαν; subject: 'all these evil things') are plain. Taken alone, the pointing of Tg would not be ineluctable (see §5.2.2), but its agreement with Pesh Vg is suggestive.

90. E.g. Exod. 24.14 (Wevers 1990: 387-88).

91. Note the differences in this terminology between the Septuagint of 2 Kgs 25.1-2 and Jer. 52.4-5 (contrast the usual case with Jer. 52 where G = 2 Kings [LXX and MT] ≠ M; see Tov 1972a):

the renditions of סוללה at Jer. 6.6 (δύναμιν) and here suggest ignorance to some, rather than freedom.[92]

Yet an accusation of ignorance runs up against the accurate use of χάραξ at 33[40].4 (the only other occurrence of סוללה), from which textual problems do not detract.[93] It is the following word in 33[40].4, החרב, which has a problematic equivalent, προμαχῶνας, and the fact that this is another term of besiegement (cf. Ezek. 4.2, where the word is found for דיק as a parallel to סוללה | χάραξ) reinforces the possibility that סוללה was familiar to the translator. But why then is it rendered freely elsewhere? It could be that when linked with verbs of movement the translator consciously replaced the static noun 'siege mound' by its dynamic equivalent 'besieging army'—a supplying of the end for the means in quasi-metonymic fashion. The verb שפך in 6.6, despite its use with סוללה in a stock expression (2 Sam. 20.15; 2 Kgs 19.22 = Isa. 37.33), lends weight to this conjecture, as it is used in this transferative sense only here in Jeremiah, elsewhere having the literal meaning 'pour'. In 32[39].24, סוללה is the subject of the verb בוא, making the dynamic equivalent ὄχλος[94] even more natural. In 33[40].4, by contrast, the antecedent phrase οἴκων…τῶν καθῃρημένων excludes all but the literal sense of 'mound'.

MT 2 Kgs = Jer.	2 Kgs 25.1-2	Jer. 52.4-5
בעשור לחדש	om.	δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς
ויחן עליה	καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν	καὶ περιεχαράκωσεν αὐτὴν
ויבנו עליה	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν	καὶ περιῳκοδόμησαν αὐτὴν
דיק	περίτειχος	[τετραπέδοις λίθοις]
במצור	ἐν περιοχῇ	εἰς συνοχὴν

This is a good example of independent translations producing varied renditions of identical siege words; it also betrays possible limitations of the Jeremiah translator with such vocabulary (דיק, for example, occurs only here and four times in Ezekiel).

92. Cf. Streane 1896: 84. The possibility, taken up by *BHS*, of an original ὁ χοῦς is discarded by Ziegler (1958: 32)—despite Neh. 4.10 where Rahlfs has adopted ὁ χοῦς (= MT) against B S V ὄχλος—because ὁ χοῦς (dust) would not make sense as the subject of the verse, and is not a word known to Jeremiah. Michaelis (1793: 262) considers G to be rendering another (unspecified) verb, but the only real possibility, חיל, is never rendered this way in Jeremiah.

93. See McKane (1996b: 855-57), who discusses the attempts of the versions to make sense of the Hebrew.

94. For the use of ὄχλος to mean 'army', see Katz (1954: 584-85).

Thus I agree with Ziegler that, if taken to mean 'massed army' (*Heereshaufen*), ὄχλος would fit well as a free rendition of סוללה. But this does not force the conclusion that the translator was ignorant of the word's literal meaning. The only context the chapter provides is v. 2, where the army (חיל | δύναμις) is besieging (צור | χαρακόω) the city, that is, the verb has a human subject. It is understandable that G has similarly humanized the subject in v. 24.[95]

4.5.12

ואשר | ὡς...οὕτως (v. 24). In Jeremiah, ὡς...οὕτως normally translates כ...כן, and many retrovert M here accordingly.[96] We have here, however, an unusual use of אשר, having no antecedent in the sentence, but including a pronominal antecedent, that is, 'that-which'.[97] The translation is thus a semantically literal one. Compare 33[40].5, where a forward-pointing אשר is left untranslated in G for the sake of semantic fidelity; cf. also the common הדבר אשר היה | ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος (11 times, including 32[39].1). I conclude that G has smoothed out LXXV. This includes the absence of καὶ in G. When an isolated ו plus or minus occurs, it seems mostly to be a matter of style, not *Vorlage*. Of eight other cases in Jeremiah 32[39], not one reflects a different *Vorlage* with any certainty.[98]

4.5.13

ואתה אמרת | καὶ σὺ λέγεις (v. 25). The verbs אמר and דבר (pf.) occur with a preceding independent pronoun 41 times in the OT, but this is the only time the Septuagint uses a present tense (elsewhere, aor. 38 times, pf. twice).[99] Examples of pres./impf. involving other verbs

95. Warner (1940: 102) labels this translation 'man for machines'. Note, also, the exegetical renditions in Vg (*munitiones extructae sunt*, 'fortifications have been built') and Pesh (ܐܬܘ ܟܡܐ̈ܢܐ, 'ambushes came'). Weitzman (1999: 187-88) notes that Pesh renders סוללה this way everywhere it occurs, and suggests that it was Jer 32.24 (not v. 34 as stated) that gave rise to this equivalence.

96. Rothstein (1922: 814), Min (1977: 132) and Stulman (1985: 81) all add *כן before LXXV היה. In addition, Workman (1889: 349) retroverts to *כאשר. Migsch (1996: 358) speculates that *כ...כן was replaced in M by the addition of והנך ראה. However, this addition in no way alters the syntax of the preceding clause.

97. Cf. DG, §10.

98. See §§3.4.10; 5.4.6; 6.4.3; 6.6.1.4; 6.6.1.5. Min (1977: Ch. II n. 23) lists וביד החזקה (v. 21) as a ו plus, but Ziegler adopts καὶ (om. B-S Sa Arab Arm).

99. In Jeremiah, 3.19; 5.4; 10.19; 34[41].5; 35[42].14; 42[49].5; 51[28].62.

include 11.10 (והמה הלכו | καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτοὶ βαδίζουσιν); 23.21 (והם רצו...והם נבאו | καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτρεχον...καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπροφήτευον). This may be one more such case of aspectual freedom, or else LXXV = ptc.

By context, the verb ought to be pf.—v. 16, אחרי חתי, sets the occasion of the speech cited in v. 25 in the past. It is unlikely that an original ptc. existed to show that this speech of God was subsequent to the previous speech regarding the city (דברת, v. 24), as the use of אשר in that clause makes דברת retrospective anyway.[100] Furthermore, the equivalence באו (not באים) | ἥκει (pres.) in v. 24 makes it hard to maintain that a ptc. must underlie the parallel λέγεις.[101] Admittedly, this point is not as strong as might first appear, since ἥκω is only formally pres., and has a pf. meaning,[102] and it—not the aor., which never appears in Jeremiah—is used to render the same constructions as aor. ἦλθον (i.e. *qatal, (w=)x-qatal*). Yet this does not detract from the fact that the word has a distinctive meaning: 'In contrast to ἔρχομαι, the verb emphasises the end-point of the process of physical movement, thus "to arrive"' (Muraoka, p. 105). This observation, culled from usage in MP,[103] is borne out in Jeremiah,[104] and lends a sense of emphatic immediacy to the clause. It is thus quite possible that the choice of pres. for λέγεις comes from a decision to shape it into the counterpart of v. 24a. One might go even further and speculate that the bringing to prominence of λέγεις was a compensation for the loss of the previous הנה-clause, and all the more so if its loss was at the translator's hand (as I have argued above).

I conclude, then, that LXXV = M. It should be noted that no MS

Only two out of 68 cases of אמר pf. (*BtFs* excepted) are rendered by pres. (23.25 שמעתי את אשר אמרו הנבאים | ἤκουσα ἃ λαλοῦσιν οἱ προφῆται).

100. Niccacci, §§87, 92.

101. That it is not הנה which motivated the pres. in v. 24 can be seen by 3.5; 40[47].4; 44[51].26, where we find הנה + pf. | ἰδοὺ + aor.

102. Schneider 1935: 929.

103. Outside 1 Sam. (20 times), ἥκω is a word of the latter prophets (MP 23 times, Isaiah 43 times, Jeremiah 35 times, Ezekiel 23 times).

104. ἥκω (35 times) is mostly used of scattered Israel or the nations coming to Jerusalem (1.15; 3.18; 6.3; 16.19; 31[38].12; 50[27].4, 5), or of disaster waiting for the people of God (5.12; 6.26; 8.16; 23.17, 19; 30[37].23; 32[39].29) or the nations (46[26].18, 22; 48[31].8; 51[28].33, 53, 60). ἔρχομαι, by contrast, has a high percentage of 'neutral' incidences, and the largest block of examples referring to the future are the 'days are coming' refrains (הנה ימים באים | ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, 15 times).

corrects λέγεις. One significant result of this rendition is a perfect parallel with vv. 36, 43.

4.6 *Variants of Special Interest*

4.6.1 *Divine Address and Quantitative Literalism*

אהה אדני יהוה הנה | ʹΟ˝Ων κύριε (v. 17). A similar phrase occurs four times in Jeremiah (examples e-h below).

4.6.1.1

אהה: Elsewhere in MT, אהה occurs six times in divine address, always followed by אדני.[105] The rendition of אהה in Jeremiah is unique, however, and the best explanation is that it is an exegetical rendition in the light of Septuagint Exod. 3.14, whereby אהה was read as היה.[106] Warner's retroversion to *אהיה (1940: 56-57) is unnecessary, however; as it stands, אהה is clearly a problematic word for Septuagint translators.[107] There is little doubt that LXXV = M in 32.17. The only debate is over 4.10 (example f below). With support from Katz (1936: 280), Ziegler has brought 4.10 into line with the rest. But any analysis of אהה should not omit אדני יהוה from consideration, and, if it can be shown (as will be attempted below) that δέσποτα is an original reading, then we would have evidence of inconsistency in G, which would make Ziegler's choice doubtful here.

4.6.1.2

אדני יהוה: This divine title has been much discussed.[108] The question that concerns us is that of the *Vorlage* of κύριος. The title occurs 14 times in Jeremiah:

		M	G	Tg Pesh Vg[109]
a.	2.22	נאם אדני יהוה	λέγει κύριος	
b.	7.20	כה אמר אדני יהוה	τάδε λέγει κυριος	
c.	49.5	נאם אדני יהוה צבאות	εἶπεν κύριος	ܡܪܝܐ ܫܠܝܛܐ
d.	50.31	נאם אדני יהוה צבאות	λέγει κύριος	

105. Josh. 7.7; Judg.^A 6.22; Ezek. 4.14; 9.8; 11.13; 21.5.

106. So Thackeray 1921: 33-34; cf. Schleusner, III, 490c.

107. See also Smith 1890: 110.

108. E.g. Baumgärtel 1961; Janzen 1973: 81-82, 162-70; Stipp 1997: 185.

109. Pesh always has ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ, and Vg *Domine Deus,* unless otherwise noted. Tg always has יי אלהים. See §4.2.1.

e.	1.6	אהה אדני יהוה	ὁ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε	
f.	4.10	אהה אדני יהוה	ὁ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε[110]	
g.	14.13	אהה אדני יהוה	ὁ ὢν κύριε	
h.	32.17	אהה אדני יהוה	ὁ ὢν κύριε	
j.	(2.19a	יהוה אלהיך	κύριος ὁ θεός σου)	
	2.19b	נאם אדני יהוה צבאות	λέγει κς. ὁ θεός σου[111]	
k.	(44.26a	דבר יהוה...אמר יהוה	λόγον κυ....εἶπεν κς.)	
	44.26b	חי אדני יהוה	ζῇ κύριος[112]	
m.	(50.25a	פתח יהוה	ἤνοιξεν κύριος)	
	50.25b	לאדני יהוה צבאות	τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ	
n.	46.10a	לאדני יהוה צבאות	τῷ[113] κυρίῳ θεῷ ἡμῶν	ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ
o.	46.10b	לאדני יהוה צבאות	τῷ κυρίῳ[114]	ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ
				Domini exercituum
p.	32.25	אדני יהוה	>	

Considering the title אדני יהוה, Ziegler's argument about Septuagint Isaiah (1959: 58) is apposite: where G has already used κύριος for יהוה, it has trouble rendering אדני. Ps. 110[109].1 is a famous example of each word being rendered κύριος. Retroverting the examples above is thus complex. Moreover, we must account for the times G adds words to κύριος. Baumgärtel's hypothesis, that LXXV = *אדני יהוה in every case, and that all additions to κύριος (= Old Greek) are inner-Greek harmonizations towards M (1961: 19), is trenchantly criticized by Janzen (1973: 169), who argues that most occurrences of אדני in M are secondary (p. 82).[115] But I prefer a middle path between these two positions. Janzen's tacit assumption is that in these examples κύριος translates just the one word יהוה: 'in [14.13; 32.17] G m. אדני would be a secondary omission' (p. 82). But given Ziegler's observations, we should also consider whether κύριος ever translates אדני יהוה. This is despite the usual one-to-one matching of κύριος and יהוה in Jeremiah.

110. ὁ ὢν 26] μη 106; > 538; ω rel.

111. Streane (1896: 40) postulates a harmonization with the earlier reference to God in the verse. He thus doubts whether G actually represents אדני יהוה here.

112. ζῇ κύριος B-410 233 Arab Arm Tht.] + ο θεος *L*´ 544; + (÷86) κυριος rel.: cf. M.

113. The position of τῷ is insecure. See Ziegler.

114. τῷ κυρίῳ B-S Bo] + σαβαωθ rel. This is the only occurrence of σαβαωθ in Jeremiah, and Ziegler is almost certainly right to omit it.

115. The question of צבאות is best treated separately; it is absent in G more often than any other divine epithet of M, and the possibility of theological reasons for this must be considered in addition (so Rofé 1991).

Although κύριος normally translates יהוה in Jeremiah, it often stands opposite a longer expression. Janzen (1973: 76-78, 157) has collected examples of divine epithets attached to the *BtF* כה אמר יהוה that include several pertinent cases.[116] Thus, in 21.4; 23.2; 34.2; 37.7, etc., we have יהוה אלהי ישראל | κύριος, and in 5.14, יהוה אלהי צבאות | κύριος παντοκράτωρ. As expected, Janzen considers these, along with the other divine epithets unique to M, as secondary expansions. He has the same attitude towards most of the 14 examples unconnected with prophetic formulas (pp. 80-81).[117] These judgments seem generally sound, especially in 42.20–43.3, where the M pluses are not only heavily ironic, but form a closer parallel with 42.2-6. The fact that G, too, has the longer names in 42.2-6 makes it unlikely that it has abbreviated them for stylistic reasons in 42.20–43.3. On the other hand, only his general theory guides Janzen in cases such as 5.4; 15.16; 37.3.[118] And when G supplies θεός (3.25 ליהוה אלהינו | τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; 8.14 יהוה אלהינו | ὁ θεὸς), LXXV = M becomes a real possibility, that is, יהוה אלהים is rendered by θεός alone.

Examples a–d. Against this background, and if we look for quantitative literalism, what possible equivalents are there for אדני יהוה? Though θεός is sometimes used for אדני, אדני יהוה | θεὸς ὁ κύριος never occurs.[119] The choices are (1) κύριος ὁ θεὸς (or, ὁ κύριος θεὸς), which stands opposite אדני יהוה 11 times in MP,[120] or (2) κύριος κύριος, found thrice in Amos and twice in Deuteronomy for אדני יהוה, and often seen in the Hexaplaric corrections to this expression in Jeremiah (2.22; 14.13; 44.26; 49.5; 46.10 [2°]). But if we abandon quantitative literalism, we can add (3) κύριος alone, found for אדני יהוה not only in Ezekiel (over 100 times), but 12 times in MP.[121] Given the high prob-

116. Also Stipp 1995: 72-77.

117. 7.28; 15.16; 26.13; 37.3; 42.5, 13, 20 (×2), 21; 43.1 (×2), 2 (Janzen overlooked 43.2); cf. 3.25; 8.14.

118. 5.14; 15.16 יהוה אלהי צבאות | κύριος παντοκράτωρ; 37.3 אל יהוה אלהינו | πρὸς κύριον.

119. Outside the concatenation in Josh. 22.22 and occasional poetic references (Pss. 50[49].1; 68[67].37; 90[89].1), 1 Chron. 13.6 האלהים יהוה | τοῦ θεοῦ κυρίου comes closest.

120. Amos 3.7, 8, 10, 13; 4.5; 8.9; 9.8; Obad. 1.1; Zeph. 1.7. Also in Hab. 3.19, opposite יהוה אדני. In Jeremiah, יהוה אלהים is most commonly rendered κύριος ὁ θεὸς, or else (ὁ) κύριος θεὸς.

121. Amos 1.8; 4.2; 6.8; 7.1, 4 (×2), 6; 8.1, 3, 11; Mic. 1.2.

ability of a link between the Greek translations of MP and Jeremiah,[122] these are significant statistics. Jeremiah is quite consistent in using option (3), as in examples a-d. (also g, h, ?k, o; that is, over half the cases), giving a base equivalence of אדני יהוה | κύριος. I shall argue that option (1) stands predictably opposite אדני יהוה in certain situations; option (2) is never used.[123] G, then, is consistent in its rendition: but does it render אדני יהוה, or יהוה alone?

Janzen (1973: 167) argues that M has been infected by Ezekiel and so has added אדני in most cases, but it is no less likely that G is the infected text, perhaps from MP.[124] To avoid this conclusion, and to safeguard G's consistency of rendition, Janzen must argue that inner-Greek additions occurred in examples m, n (example j is not explained), and that LXXV omitted אדני in examples g and h. A far simpler solution is obtained, however, by assuming אדני יהוה | κύριος in G, as found in the Septuagint of Ezekiel and MP.

Examples e–h. Because אהה is always followed by אדני, even Janzen judges this group to contain original readings in M. δέσποτα in Jeremiah is found only in examples e, f and 15.11; it translates אדני in the OT generally.[125] From a textual point of view, a late, inner-Greek insertion is hard to understand, and Baumgärtel's approach smacks of special pleading. Perhaps one could argue that as both verses reply to a request for, or statement of, the impossible, the use of δέσποτα is an allusion to Abraham in Genesis 15. But, like most literary arguments, this one cuts both ways, and could equally have inspired M. More surprising is its absence in examples g and h, but since there is little doubt about LXXV in these verses,[126] the reading κύριε is a powerful additional argument for my contention that LXXV generally reads אדני יהוה. It is probably this prevailing equivalence that pulled G away from the longer reading of 1.6; 4.10.

Examples j–o. Only these examples contain more than one divine title per verse. It looks as though the translator has departed from his normal rendition so as to preserve the contours of his *Vorlage.* Before I address

122. E.g. Margolis 1910: 304; Thackeray 1921: 28-29; Tov 1976: 149-50.

123. Note also יהוה | κύριος ὁ θεὸς in Jer. 5.18; 23.30; 23.37, 38; 50[27].5.

124. MP seems the likelier source, since δέσποτα occurs once there (Jon. 4.3), but never in Ezekiel.

125. Gen. 15.2, 8; Josh. 5.14 (*Vorlage*?); Isa. 1.24; 3.1; 10.33.

126. There is certainly no doubt about its original form, and Janzen's theory that it has suffered the loss of אדני twice is unconvincing.

the problem, it is necessary to make some comment on the role of Pesh in the textual criticism of Jeremiah. Janzen (1973: 82) states that we must take the Greek evidence seriously, 'especially when it is supported by Syr'. But what does it mean for Pesh to 'support' G?

It is plain that Pesh depends on the recension of Jeremiah underlying M. Agreement of Pesh with G against M does not mean direct dependence of Pesh on LXXV, much less access to such a Hebrew text type. From the point of view of Pesh, κύριος is ambiguous, in that it could imply יהוה with or without אדני. Thus, when Pesh implies יהוה alone (as it does in examples c, n, o), this reflects on M, not G (or LXXV). Note that Pesh also represents צבאות here, which is absent from G. This is not a case of problems with the meaning of M, as are most agreements of Pesh and G (McKane 1986: xxviii). It is therefore not unlikely that Pesh had a Hebrew exemplar that lacked אדני, but which was not of the LXXV text type.[127]

Beginning with example o, then, the testimony of Pesh Vg against M suggests that their M-type *Vorlage(n)* lacked אדני. This in turn might suggest that the word was fluid in the M tradition, and thus a late entrant, and thus, perhaps, not to be found in LXXV. This type of support is tenuous at best. It would require אדני to be a late gloss, and not a recensional feature. Nevertheless, I do consider אדני secondary in M, but by recension, and because of the Greek evidence.

What is the *Vorlage* of τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ (example n)? Options include (1) יהוה (Zech. 10.12); (2) יהוה אלהים/נו (Jer. 13.16; 22.9; 50[27].4, 28; 51[28].10; 30[37].9); (3) אדני יהוה (eight times in Ezek. 45–48); or (4) יהוה, with θεῷ an inner-Greek expansion both here and in example m, where A Q*-V C *et al.* omit it (Janzen 1973: 82). Option (1) is unlikely on grounds both external (not well attested) and internal (Jeremiah would be expected to use κύριος); option (2) is cumbersome; option (4) cannot explain example j.

By analogy with example m, I suggest that the presence of two divine titles of different length in the one verse has prompted a departure from the normal rendition of אדני יהוה for the sake of 'discourse literalism'. That is, LXXV = M in example n, but lacks אדני in example o. The correpondence of LXXV with Pesh Vg here may betray direct influence

127. I know of no major studies of Pesh Jeremiah; on Pesh in general see Tov's bibliography (1992b: 151) and Weitzman (1999).

rather than proving אדני in M to be a late gloss. Pesh in example n probably results from internal harmonization.[128]

Examples j and k are textually somewhat ambiguous, but the same principle applies. If example j truly reflects LXXV, then we have a case of a longer expression in v. 19b balancing the longer expression in v. 19a, and the lexical homogenization probably reflects limitations imposed by the pronunciation of the respective titles. In example k it might be tempting to go against Ziegler (but with Rahlfs) in reading κύριος κύριος (haplography in B), except that this is not a term used in Jeremiah.[129] I therefore suspect M may be secondary here.

Example p is probably an M plus: see §4.4.10. To summarize: I judge that G renders אדני יהוה | κύριος; that most departures from this pursue 'discourse literalism' (examples j, m, n); that, 3 out of 14 times, אדני is secondary in M (examples k, o, p).

4.6.1.3 הנה: This appears in the parallels 1.6 and 14.13, where G does have ἰδού; 4.10 has the related term אכן | ἄρα γε.[130] The presence of הנה in 32.17 is thus expected, and against the possibility that M added it in the interests of homogeneity stands his evident failure to bring 4.10 into line. LXXV haplography (יהוה הנה) is more likely.[131] Of course, it may be that M left 4.10 alone because removal of a word would have been necessary, but, on balance, one expects some such word in this phrase. To move from the textual to the literary plane, it has been argued that M added הנה here and at v. 27 for rhetorical reasons (e.g. Migsch 1996: 354). This seems more likely in the latter case (for textual reasons), and an original הנה at v. 17 would, moreover, provide a source for the addition in v. 27.[132]

128. Further harmonistic tendencies in Pesh are discussed in §6.2.2. The same line of reasoning applies to example c, as Pesh is insufficient evidence to emend M, and cannot be adduced in support of G.

129. Except for יהוה | κύριε κύριε in 51[28].62, which is not comparable.

130. אכן is a restrictive adverb serving the same function as הנה (Waltke, §39.3.5d), and its inconsistent rendition by G and the other versions (3.20 πλήν, 3.23 ὄντως, 8.8 om.) permits us to presume that LXXV = M.

131. Janzen (1967: 446; 1973: 118) lists 32[39].17 as his only example from Jeremiah 32 of 'haplography in G or *G-Vorlage*'.

132. Older commentators (e.g. Rothstein 1922: 814) often reject הנה in v. 17 because they suspect it is a late attempt to bind in the secondary vv. 17-23 with older material beginning with הנה (v. 24), but this confuses the early literary history of the book (common to M and LXXV) with later developments.

4.6.2 *Damage in the Greek* Vorlage

יהוה צבאות שמו גדל העצה | κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς (vv. 18-19). There is substantial difference across these verses, with one of the longest G pluses of the book. The two versions are set out with a retroversion of G between them (the box contains the unrepeated material):

v. 18b	M1	האל הגדול הגבור	G1 האל הגדול הגבור	ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ ἰσχυρός
		יהוה צבאות שמו	יהוה גדולה עצה	κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς
v. 19a		גדל העצה		
		ורב העליליה	ורב העליליה	καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις
	M2?		G2 האל הגדול (ה)צבאות	ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ
			שמו גדול יהוה	ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος[133]

4.6.2.1 In the five lines of Greek shown above, the first and last pairs (G1 and G2) are very similar. παντοκράτωρ reflects צבאות (M v. 18b), and ὁ μεγαλώνυμος ('with a great name; giving glory'), a *hapax* in the Septuagint,[134] reflects שמו and גדל.

It is significant that (a) every element in M is represented in G, and vice versa; (b) neither of the pairs of lines in question contains all the elements of M. This means that, if there was an 'original' that gave rise to both M and G, there was a doubling in G (or a halving in M), combined with the transposition and deletion (or insertion) of other material in M or G after the separation of the text forms. With the final complication of potential translation infidelities and inner-Greek corruptions, it is clear that no reconstruction of the textual history can be more than tentative.

The simplest solution would be to label the G plus a late, liturgical, expansion. But there are serious problems with this, not least that the phraseology is unparalleled in the Septuagint (see below). Neither do there appear to be parallels in Hellenistic liturgical Greek.[135] Finally, the

133. Rahlfs gives καὶ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος on the strength of B A-106′ 26 Arab Constit., and Migsch (1996: 53 n. 2) supports this reading, judging that ὁ entered under the influence of the following article. He does not give evidence of this type of harmonization, however, and Ziegler is probably right to adopt what is the more difficult reading (see below).

134. It is not a neologism, being found in Greek lyric poetry (LSJ).

135. A quotation from Jer. 32.19 appears in 1QH 8.16 (= 16.8), but how much of the verse is cited is unclear. Lohse (1964: 168) reconstructs ברוך אתה אדוני גדול ה[ע]צה ור[ב] העליליה, but Holm-Nielsen (1960: 237-38) and García Martínez (p. 324) read גדול ה[ע]צה as יוצר הכול (creator [of all things]), thus restricting the

use of צבאות (and hence παντοκράτωρ) as a divine title was avoided in later writings, because the name 'was most plausibly understood as connecting the Lord with inferior heavenly beings' (Rofé 1991: 309). This leaves us with a textual, rather than a literary, phenomenon.

The following retroversions and reconstructions have been suggested: (1) Streane suggests that ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας seems to be 'an accidental repetition from v. 18', and ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος represents 'in the main' יהוה צבאות שמו גדל. On the latter point, Spohn (1824: 140) suggests that παντοκράτωρ = צבאות and μεγαλώνυμος κύριος = שמו. Neither suggestion accounts for what seems a quite unnecessary translation. (2) Workman offers *הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל צְבָאוֹת וּגְדֹל שֵׁם יהוה (1889: 349),[136] maintaining word order at all costs; (3) Warner suggests *אֵל־צְבָאוֹת הַגָּדוֹל וּגְדֹל שֵׁם יהוה (1940: 81*). G is most unlikely to have been as free as such a *Vorlage* suggests, as I shall now argue.

4.6.2.2 (1) κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς | *יהוה גדולה עצה. Phrases such as this (יהוה + adj. + noun) are found in the MT ten times,[137] but they bear no semantic resemblance to G, in which the adjective qualifies the noun and forms a phrase relating to κύριος as an epexegetical genitive. (Any attempt to come closer to M, for example, by adding the article to עצה, yields a form of statement never found in the MT: neither יהוה, nor אל, nor אדני, nor אדון, is ever followed directly by adj. + art. + noun.) On the other hand, to represent G with semantic accuracy in Hebrew would require יהוה to be in a construct relation, which the Name never is in the OT.[138] If we choose another source-expression of κύριος, and the most promising is יהוה אלהים, the resultant *יהוה אלהי (ה)עצה (ה)גדלה

citation to two words. Licht (1957: 203) offers a comparable variation: נוצר כה [חסד]. In their study edition, however, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (pp. 156-57) have adopted the text of Lohse. Whatever the extent of the citation, the idiosyncratic *-îyyā* ending pins down the source (according to Holm-Nielsen [1960: 238], -לל- is a dittography).

136. Following B, καὶ μεγαλώνυμος. Migsch (1996: 68-69) follows both B and Workman (1889).

137. Exod. 34.14 (קנא שמו 'י, 'Y., glorious his name'); Num. 14.18; Nah. 1.3; Pss. 103.8; 145.8 (ארך אפים 'י, 'Y. [is] slow to anger'); Judg. 5.5 (זה סיני 'י, 'Y., the One of Sinai'); Isa. 10.20; 30.15; 45.11 (קדוש ישראל 'י, 'Y., the Holy One of Israel'); Ps. 24.8 ('י גבור מלחמה, 'Y., mighty in battle'). GKC labels such adjectives in construct state *improper annexions* (§128x).

138. Except for the unique phrase יהוה צבאות; so Emerton 1982: 2-9; DG, §35 *Rem.* 6.

could be rendered as 'YHWH, God of great counsel', and similar forms of expression in both M and G could be adduced in support.[139]

The possibility of a free rendition seems unlikely, since a double phrase *גדל העצה ורב העליליה would surely be rendered the same way in each part: μέγας τῇ βουλῇ καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις. From this, we can exclude another possibility, namely that an original *יהוה צבאות שמו (= M) dropped from LXXV, leaving the translator to supply κύριος before his translation of the next two words. In any case, the phrase would need no fresh antecedent.

If we assume a variant *Vorlage*, the pattern of omissions and additions here points to a mechanical cause, not a conscious revision: G (not M) is both expansive and repetitive, not straying beyond what is in M. It is much more likely that an original *צבאות שמו dropped out, leaving *יהוה in front of *גדול העצה. I suggest that the words were divided *יהוה גדולה עצה. This destroys the construct relationship, leaving 'YHWH, great is [the/his] counsel', rather than 'YHWH, great of counsel'. This corresponds to G, where there is no article, and μεγάλης qualifies βουλῆς.[140] The translation maintains a distinction from the next phrase, and retains a close connection with the text (and word order) of M. Admittedly, it seems somewhat contrary of the translator to divide the words this way, in the light of what follows, but the only real alternative—*יהוה אלהי עצה גדולה—requires the introduction of foreign material.

(2) ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ | *האל הגדול (ה)צבאות. As discussed earlier, παντοκράτωρ is a word of Jeremiah and MP. None of the 82 other uses in Jeremiah (G or M) has the article, though we do find the article 20 out of 150 times in the Septuagint (6 times in Job; 14 times in MP in the phrase κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ). MP use the title indiscriminately, however,[141] and we cannot be at all certain that

139. Cases of cs. noun + noun + attributive adj.: Jer. 2.13, מקור מים חיים | πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς; 2.34, דם נפשות אביונים נקיים | αἵματα ψυχῶν ἀθῴων; also 50[27].9; 23.36; 17.13; 47[29].3. Examples with the article: Jer. 11.2, את דברי הברית הזאת | τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης; 38[45].16; 2.21; also—excluding cases involving כל, or where G paraphrases—7.33; 11.3, 6, 8; 17.24, 25; 21.4; 22.4; 25.9; 33[40].4; 52.21 Q; 52.22.

140. Note the resultant ambiguity: is the relationship attributive or predicative?

141. In MP, κύριος ὁ θεος ὁ παντοκράτωρ renders יהוה אלהי הצבאות (twice); יהוה אלהי צבאות (five times); יהוה צבאות (twice); יהוה (twice); יהוה אלהך (once); אדני יהוה צבאות (once).

the article in G represents an article in LXXV. What is beyond argument is the unique positioning of ὁ παντοκράτωρ in the phrase. Outside Job and the Apocrypha,[142] it is never used as a separate title for God, but always qualifies κύριος or θεὸς. We can be fairly certain that the translator was not looking at a conventional example, but it is harder to say just what his *Vorlage* read and how intact this reading was. Working with the hypothesis that the translator was doing his best with a problematic *Vorlage,* I am more inclined than usual to read back to the Hebrew with quantitatively literal fidelity. The unique syntax supports this policy, but this still leaves us in the realm of conjecture.

(3) ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος | *שמו גדול יהוה. Starting with the Greek, we have another unlikely expression. Outside the Apocrypha, the combination <article + adjective> modifying κύριος is used only four times, and only for genitives: משיח יהוה | τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου in 1 Sam. 24.7; 26.16; 2 Sam. 19.22; קדוש יהוה | τὸν ἅγιον κυρίου in Ps. 106[105].16. Without the article,[143] the pattern translates predicative adjectives (e.g. 1 Chron. 16.25 גדול יהוה | μέγας κύριος). But in no case is there ever an attributive adjective modifying κύριος. Thus, if we suppose an intact text, it is hard to imagine κύριος translating יהוה rather than אל (which can be so modified: Ps. 95.3). But in that case, why did the translator not use θεός? Once again, the strange syntax suggests neither a free rendering of a hard text nor a strict rendering of a good text, but a damaged *Vorlage.*

Moving to the Hebrew, combinations of שם and גדול exist in similar contexts, both in attributive and predicative constructions, and שם always possesses a pronominal suffix.[144] G renders as expected, for example בשמי הגדול | τῷ ὀνόματι μου τῷ μεγάλῳ (Jer. 46[51].26).

It is hard to imagine how one would translate G literally into Hebrew; I judge that κύριος reflects יהוה, and that the words transmitted in M as שמו גדל underlie μεγαλώνυμος. I also judge that יהוה was the final word, not only because literalism seems the only explanation of the Greek syntax, but because a name of God begins the other three lines. The possibilities from here are limited: (a) *גדל שמו יהוה (transposing M) could easily have been rendered μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, κύριος; (b)

142. E.g. 2 Macc. 1.25; Wis. 7.25. Note also 1 Chron. 29.12.

143. Cf. Rahlfs 32[39].19: καὶ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος.

144. Except 2 Sam. 7.9, שם גדול; the phrase there refers to a human person.

*שם יגדל יהוה (redividing and reading י for ו) is exceedingly awkward, and should in any case have been rendered by a Greek verb;[145] (c) שם *הגדל יהוה (redividing and replacing ו with ה) might well be rendered ὄνομα τῇ μείζονι κύριος ('the name of the greatest is LORD'; for the dat., cf. Gen. 29.16). Further adjustments are equally fruitless, for they produce either a phrase lending itself to conventional translation, or one needlessly complicated compared with the most obvious choice: (d) שמו גדול יהוה. This gives us a predicative adj. preceding its noun—unattested for שם + גדול—and an uneasy apposition of יהוה, which makes such a departure from normal usage as we find in G fully understandable. In short, an exegetical rendition of a damaged *Vorlage* has been compensated for by retaining strict literalism at the level of word order.[146] While no retroversion is totally secure, in this case the doubt is unusually great; but there is much less doubt about the fact that we have in G a double translation.

4.6.2.3 The phenomenon of doublets, or double translations, in the Septuagint is linked more with Isaiah than Jeremiah, but there are examples in Jeremiah of G pluses that suggest twice-translated material over against M. Often it is a case of an expansion that draws on nearby material for theological[147] or literary[148] reasons, but sometimes there are cases that look like two successive renditions of problematic originals, for example, 4.29, בעבים | εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλση, translating as both 'cave' (cf. 1 Kgs 7.46) and 'thicket';[149] 4.1, מפני | ἐκ στόματος

145. Cf. 2 Sam. 7.26, ויגדל שמך | μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου; Ps. 35[34].27, יגדל יהוה | μεγαλυνθήτω ὁ κύριος.

146. The main objection to this reconstruction as I see it is that שמו would lend itself to being read with צבאות. Further, this would leave the problem-free גדול יהוה, rendered μέγας κύριος five times in the Psalms. Perhaps there was a desire to maintain a metre of three words per line; perhaps the intrusion of גדול into the previous line broke up the formula enough to disassociate the two words; perhaps, on the other hand, G divided שם וגדול יהוה.

147. E.g. the last clause in G 1.17, which is drawn from 1.8 to soften the impact of the verse.

148. E.g. καὶ τοὺς ἐλαιῶνας ὑμῶν (5.17), that may have been added from Ps. 4.8 (Streane 1896: 76) or the doublet in 19.15 that seems to be attempting to provide an exact rendering of עיר (Ziegler 1958: 99; McKane 1986: 447). For a discussion of double translations in Tg, see Tomes (1997: 242).

149. Talmon 1976: 171.

αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου μου (the first phrase read as מפי׳).[150] A noteworthy example for our purposes is 18.20-22 (excerpts follow):

18.20	כי כרו שוחה לנפשי	ὅτι συνελάλησαν ῥήματα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μου
	>	καὶ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτῶν ἔκρυψάν μοι
22	כי כרו שיחה [Q שוחה] ללכדני	ὅτι ἐνεχείρησαν λόγον εἰς σύλλημψίν μου
	ופחים טמנו לרגלי	καὶ παγίδας ἔκρυψαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ

There seem to have been two versions of a distich in this passage, as McKane argues at length (1986: 439-40). It is seen in one form in 18.20 (שוחה, לנפשי), and in another in v. 22 (K שיחה, ללכדני). However, while both parts of the distich are present in v. 22, only G contains the second part in v. 20, which shows further variation (κόλασιν—παγίδας). McKane believes (p. 439) that the distich is extraneous to v. 20, as that verse contains five stichs over against four in v. 22. He suggests an exegetical motivation for the insertion. Janzen suggests early conflation of two Greek traditions, with M representing 'either partial, or subsequently defective, conflation of the same variant traditions' (1973: 28).

Likewise, 32[39].18-19 seems to reflect two versions of a distich (as in G) conflated into one (as in M), or else one version that became two in G. At any rate, the present investigation indicates that this is not a 'translation doublet'[151] based on the same *Vorlage*. Two different Hebrew readings or MSS are reflected. However, to press beyond a general statement such as this is difficult.

4.6.2.4 In the light of the discussion, we now consider possible reconstructions of the common parent text (GT). The original retroversion is reproduced with analogous elements numbered correspondingly.

18b M1	האל$_1$הגדול$_2$הגבור$_3$	G1 האל$_1$הגדול$_2$הגבור$_3$	ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ ἰσχυρός
	יהוה$_4$צבאות$_5$שמו$_6$	יהוה$_4$גדולה$_7$עצה$_8$	κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς
19a	גדל$_7$העצה$_8$		
	ורב העליליה	ורב העליליה	καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις
M2?		G2 האל$_1$הגדול$_2$(ה)צבאות$_5$	ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ
		שמו$_6$גדול$_7$יהוה$_4$	ὁ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος

150. Streane 1896: 62; Ziegler 1958: 90; Janzen 1973: 30; McKane 1986: 84-85.

151. Tov 1997: 129.

(1) Haplography in M is possible, and could have occurred in various ways:

(a) GT = M1 + G2; M arose by haplography (העליליה...יהוה), and G1 later lost elements (5-6), probably as part of a systematic excision of such language (Rofé 1991).

(b) GT = G1 + G2; M was first expanded (5-6) and then suffered haplography. No scenario involving M haplography is likely, however, given the singular nature of LXXV, which betrays a damaged *Vorlage*.

(2) Repetition in G is the most likely explanation: perhaps a variant reading preserved in the LXXV margin later found its way into the text (= G2).[152] What was the original?

(a) Neither GT = G1 nor GT = G2 is satisfactory. The number of additional changes required makes such theories collapse under their own weight. GT = M1 is my preferred reconstruction, requiring only one subsequent step in the LXXV tradition: if the marginal reading featured the pair (3-4) transposed to the end, then it could form the basis of G2. From there, G2 arose by the haplographic loss of (-8 3-) (גדול העצה הגבור), and G1 by the loss of (5-6). The fact that παντοκράτωρ is retained in G v. 19b could be due either to the fact that it is not as blatant an association of the title with YHWH as צבאות שמו, or to the fact that G2 entered the text only after the 'anti-צבאות' revision occurred.

(b) Further possibilities exist, of course, especially if we allow for later revision in both text types. For example, GT = (1-2-3-4),[153] with a marginal note indicating two extra pairs: (5-6), (7-8). M then inserted (5-6-7-8) after GT; LXXV inserted (7-8) only after GT (= G1); and LXXV preserved a variant in which (5-6-7-8) was inserted into the middle of GT. This variant suffered the later loss of (-8 3-), resulting in G2 as we have it.

Even the most ingenious reconstruction involves a chain of several hypothetical steps, so that the probability that every step is correct becomes very low. The most we can say is that there do exist viable textual routes by which the current situation could have arisen, and that it is far more probable that G is secondary. The only argument in favour

152. We may exclude the possibility that a copyist included both variants after finding them in different Greek MSS: there is no MS evidence to suggest this, and the variants are sufficiently different to make their inclusion at an earlier stage understandable. For a discussion of this issue, see Talshir (1986: 47-48).

153. For the syntax of such an expression, cf. Ps. 95.3; 2 Chron. 30.9.

of a literary process involving the intentional manufacture of a longer version is that of *lectio difficilior,* that is, the fact that G is a more difficult text both syntactically and stylistically. But in this case I consider G so difficult that this can be ruled out.

Chapter Five

JEREMIAH 32.26-35

5.1 *Variants for Discussion*

v.	M	G	§
26	אל ירמיהו	πρός με	5.6.1
27	הנה	>	5.4.1
	יפלא	κρυβήσεταί	5.5.1
17, 27	כל דבר	οὐθέν (v. 17); τι (v. 27)	5.5.1
28	יהוה	κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ	5.3.1; 5.4.2
	הנני נתן	δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται	5.6.2
	ביד הכשדים וביד נב׳ מלך בבל	εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως βαβυλῶνος	5.6.3
29	הנלחמים	πολεμοῦντες	5.3.2; 5.5.2
	ושרפוה ואת הבתים	καὶ κατακαύσουσι τὰς οἰκίας	5.5.3
30	אך	μόνοι	5.5.4
	כי בני ישראל...נאם יהוה	om.	5.4.3
31	היתה לי	ἦν	5.4.4
	למן היום אשר בנו	ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ᾠκοδόμησαν	5.5.5
32	על	διὰ	5.5.6
	כל רעת	πάσας τὰς πονηρίας	6.5.7
	בני ישראל ובני יהודה	τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα	5.4.5
	המה מלכיהם...ונביאיהם	αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν... καὶ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν	5.4.6
	ואיש יהודה וישבי	ἄνδρες Ιουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες	5.4.6
33	ולמד אתם השכם ולמד	καὶ ἐδίδαξα αὐτοὺς ὄρθρου καὶ ἐδίδαξα	5.5.7
34	לטמאו	ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν	5.4.7
35	את במות	τοὺς βωμοὺς	5.2.2; 5.5.8
	למלך	τῷ βασιλεῖ	5.3.4

5.2 *Comments on the Masoretic Text*

5.2.1

וישׂימו (v. 34). K^{Or}: וְשִׂימוּ (so Ginsburg; Nestle; *BHK*), Q^{Or}: וַיָּשִׂימוּ (so Ginsburg; Nestle), Eb 22: (ויש)ימו, Kennicott Cod. 658: ישׂימו, Tg: ושויאו,[1] Vg Pesh = M.

The K^{Or} reading must be either imv. or perhaps inf. cs. + suff. (if revocalized), neither of which is at all likely in the context. The other possibility is a form like וְשִׂימוּ taken as a shortened form of hi. pf., that is, without the preformative (so GKC §73a).[2] However, all attested occurrences of שׂים hi. are textually dubious (KBR, 1325-26).

Migsch (1996: 61) cites Q^{Or} as ושמו, a straightforward pf., but a reading of which I can find no record. The siglum 'Or' describes readings of the eastern Masoretes, for example, from Sura and Nehardea,[3] and the variants are collected in the Masoretic lists. The accuracy of the modern Bible editions can be verified against the Masoretic lists of Cod. Leningradensis B 19^{A}.[4] While it is true that biblical MSS may mix 'western' and 'eastern' readings,[5] the lists of such variants are uniform in all sources.[6] Migsch's reading must therefore be erroneous; Kennicott's variant is the only other that I have found. Incidentally, its editor (A. Alba Cecilia) has reconstructed Eb 22 as if it were a western reading, though the MS represents the eastern tradition.

5.2.2

במות (v. 35). Tg: בָּמַת (sg.),Vg: *excelsa*, Pesh: ܚܠܘܬܐ. But the Aramaic consonants can be vocalized as pl., as they are in MS I (Sperber, 213).[7]

1. This form is from שׁוא pa., which can be used as an equivalent for שׂוּם, שׂים (Jastrow, 1532).

2. The same mixed forms occur in impf.: 'it is highly probable that all the above instances...are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יָבִין, יָשִׂים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'îl*' (GKC, 203 n. 1). Scalise has misconstrued: 'K^{Or} has pf with waw conj.' (Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 144).

3. Wonneberger 1984: 31-32; Würthwein 1988: 15.

4. *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition*, 945, col. 2, line 31.

5. E.g. Ginsburg 1897: 196-99, 221.

6. Yeivin 1980: 139.

7. The same apparent variant is found in Tg 7.31, on which Gordon comments, 'The vowels were added at a quite late stage in the history of the transmission of the Targums' (1975: 54).

As with the parallels 7.15 (where 4QJer^{a} also attests the pl.) and 19.5, the pl. is to be retained here.

5.2.3

הבעל (v. 35). Pesh: + ܒܬܦܬ (*BHS:* '= בְּתֹפֶת'; Walton points ܒܬܳܦܶܬ): cf. 2 Kgs 23.10, where Topheth is linked with Molek. It also features in the parallel Jer. 7.31 (cf. 19.6-14, where the sign-act of the broken jar is carried out in Topeth). Pesh is an isolated, perhaps harmonizing, variant.

5.2.4

החטי K; החטיא Q (v. 35). Pesh: ܘܢܚܛܘܢ (impf.—could be pe. or pa. 'sin'; Walton points it as af. 'cause to sin'), Tg: בדיל לחייבא ('so as to make [the house of Judah] incur guilt'—theological amelioration), Vg: *et in peccatum deducerent* (and to lead down into sin).

Most since Graf (1862: 412) detect haplography in M (החטיא את), though alternative explanations include those of Michaelis (1793: 262), that 'Cthib est Orthographica Chaldaizans', and Driver (1960: 118), that verbs with final א may have been written without the aleph at times, with Q often 'correcting' K.[8] The copyist of MS Ee.5.10 in the University Library, Cambridge (Kennicott Cod. 91)[9] has erased an original word ending א–, and over-written with החטי. This suggests that the fuller form was written naturally, only to be corrected on re-comparison with the exemplar. With an orthographic variant of this type, we cannot say which form would originally have been present, even though the Q form is the one normally expected.

5.3 *Comments on the Septuagint*

5.3.1

κύριος S-130 V-26-86´-534-544 *O*(Syh^{txt})-233 Aeth Arm] + ο θεος Ισραηλ rel. (v. 28). The remainder in this case includes B-239-538 A-106´ Q-46-613 *L´C´* Co Arab. M reads יהוה. The B and Q-V groups are split, but A supports the longer reading, placing the onus upon Ziegler to substantiate his choice. He does so by grouping this verse with three others involving alternative long readings of the divine name:

8. Similarly Duhm 1901: 269. McKane (1996b: 848) cites Qimḥi as equating the two forms. The masorah of some MSS mark this not as K/Q, but as a spelling lacking aleph (Yeivin 1980: 55).

9. Described in Schiller-Szinessy 1876: 33-34.

a. 25.27[32.13]	οὕτως εἶπε κύριος παντοκράτωρ B-S A-106´ Co Aeth Arab Tyc.] + ο (> V-86´-544) θεος (+ του L^{-407}) ισραηλ rel. (Eus.ps.74) = M[10]
b. 32[39].28	as above
c. 33[40].4	οὕτως εἶπε κύριος B-106' 26 Co] + ο θεος ισραηλ rel. = M
d. 34[41].13	οὕτως εἶπε κύριος B-106' 26 Co Aeth Arab] + ο (sub ÷ 86) θεος (+ του *L* 46) ισραηλ rel. (Cyr. I 501) = M

Rahlfs supports the shorter reading only in example a, where the textual support warrants it independently. He is evidently satisfied that there are a sufficient number of similarly longer readings in G to allow the majority reading to pass in examples b-d.[11]

Ziegler has good grounds for his choice, however, since only in these four places do we find any real support for a shorter reading. All four have B-group support. Note, further, that a similar group of witnesses often supports a shorter, more original, divine title: typically, κύριος B-S A-106´ Bo Arab] + των δυναμεων rel. = M.[12]

Ziegler is thus persuasive for examples c and d, but example b presents a somewhat different picture. First, the shorter reading is supported by a different set of witnesses; secondly, the shorter reading agrees with M (note the hexaplaric witnesses); and thirdly, the support of S rather than B-106´ is significant. Ziegler (p. 48) says that omissions are very frequent in S*; the copyist seems to have been very careless, as almost 70 cases of homoioteleuton indicate. Further omissions of one or more words are also due to the copyist, for example 32[39].19 om. κύριος 2°. Many readings that agree with M could also have arisen as inner-Greek phenomena without reference to M, for example, the omission of καὶ in 2.13; 8.5; ἔσται in 5.18, etc. (p. 50). Thus it is characteristic of S to have omitted these words, whether in dependence on M or not.

I thus go against Ziegler here, noting Soderlund's similar animadversions upon S* (1985: 146), as well as his criticism of Ziegler's tendency to revise G towards M overmuch. Of course, this leaves us with a

10. οὕτως εἶπε] ταδε λεγει L´; κύριος] + ο θεος 62 87.

11. He offers 27[34].4; 29[36].4; 30[37].2; 32[39].36, and could have added 16.9; 19.3; 24.5; 25.12[32.1]; 39[46].16; 44[51].2, 11, 25.

12. 6.6, 9; 7.3; 9.6[7], 14[15]; 11.17; 23.15.

surprising result, namely a divine title fuller in G than M; perhaps this also weighed in Ziegler's mind.

5.3.2

οἱ πολεμοῦντες 311-407-449 490 233 410 α´ 86] om. οἱ rel.: post -οι (v. 29). MS support for inclusion of the article, apart from the Aquila citation in 86^{mg},[13] comes from minuscules in the Lucianic, Catena and Hexaplaric groups repectively, and MS 410, which usually veers between B and A (Ziegler, 51). Ziegler judges that a haplography has occurred: Χαλδαῖοι οἱ.

In the latter part of his essay on the definite article (1958: esp. 145-66), Ziegler makes the following observations: (1) it is usual for G to include the article with a substantive ptc., especially when M has one, though there are places (he cites 14) where the article was originally lacking, being supplied later by a few MSS (1958: 145-47). (2) When the article might have been lacking in G, and M has the article or את (ל), then Aquila has added it, usually *sub asterisco*. Later, Origen has often adopted it. Ziegler's 24 examples include 32[39].29 πολεμοῦντες (1958: 155-56). (3) Lucian very often adds the article in the interests of good Greek. Sometimes it is only a few Lucianic MSS that insert the article, and sometimes the Catena group follows Lucian's lead (1958: 162-63). (4) Regarding the minuscules, Ziegler deals with instances of addition or omission of the article against M by a few MSS (many examples), but not with addition of the article in alignment with M. Nevertheless, his general conclusion is that there is no relying on the minuscules: the individual copyists appear to have treated it as insignificant (1958: 164-66).

These observations make a strong case for the unoriginality of the article before πολεμοῦντες. Presumably, 233 depends on α´, and 490 depends on 311-407-449. 'Of all MSS, 410 has been the hardest to read, being a palimpset [*sic*] and copied by an unusually sloppy hand' (Soderlund 1985: 89). MSS from the B and A groups do not usually modify

13. Ziegler (1958: 151-57) makes much of the theoretical fidelity of α´ to the Hebrew in terms of its inclusion or omission of the article, but has to struggle with the probable unreliability of MS 86, the main witness to α´. His solution is to extrapolate on the assumption that α´ is extremely consistent in following M, especially when M omits the article (in these cases, 86 represents α´ as having inserted it over 100 times, but Ziegler reckons most of these to be later additions by copyists). For a different view, cf. Barr (1979: 322).

themselves under the influence of M, but make changes on stylistic grounds that just happen to agree with M (Ziegler, 58-59). The main question hanging over the discussion so far is whether the addition of the article here would be made on stylistic grounds, since the clause is good without it. But the only MS for which this is an important consideration is 410, as the Lucianic recension drew on the Hexaplaric, and attempted to preserve as much as possible of the textual tradition;[14] it is very often in agreement with the later Greek translators (i.e. the 'three') (Ziegler, 85).

Be that as it may, Ziegler argues in effect that an early haplography has all but wiped out an original article, and it has survived only in a few minuscules. In his discussion of this reading (1958: 120), he concedes that the broad pattern of omission in this case makes the judgment of haplography less sure than in cases (and he cites many) where the article is lacking in only a few MSS. Nevertheless he has judged οἱ to be original here since it is found in M, and is usual with participles. In other words, the strongest argument for Ziegler's choice is actually one of translation technique, namely that LXXV should have had the article (see §5.5.2), and that it is therefore to be expected in G. This will be taken up below; on purely textual grounds I must take issue with Ziegler for the time being.[15] For if we judge that the article was reinserted in 233 α´, and probably also in 311-407-449 490, then we are left with just one (or perhaps five) witnesses to G. I therefore judge there to have been an isolated dittography in 410.[16]

5.3.3

υἱοὶ Ισραηλ	S 410] pr. οι rel.: cf. 226 (v. 30);
υἱοὶ Ιουδα	S C^{-87} 410] pr. οι rel.: cf. 226 (v. 30);
υἱῶν Ισραηλ	most MSS] pr. των B *L* Tht.; > Q^{txt} (※ υιων ^{mg}) (v. 32);
ὀργήν μου	Q-V-26-46-86´-130-534-538-544 *O*-233 Olymp.] pr. την rel. (v. 31);
θυμόν μου	V-26-46-130-534-538-544 *O*-233] pr. τον rel. (v. 31).

14. Soderlund 1985: 75. Hence the almost total lack of omissions in *L*.

15. His only purely textual argument here is that, being short, the article is liable to haplographic omission.

16. Ziegler (1958: 121) provides a few examples of dittography involving the article, and notes that in other cases an intentional addition is possible.

Regarding vv. 30 and 32, it is common for the article to be secondarily inserted before υἱοὶ, and, significantly, it is never unanimously witnessed (see Ziegler [1958: 129], who provides 14 examples). Ziegler suggests that the phonetic similarity of οἱ and υἱ- may be a factor.

Regarding v. 31, Ziegler (1958: 125-27, 136-43) analyses the occurrence of the article in the translation of various constructions, including noun + pronominal suffix (where Greek demands the article) and prep. + noun + pronominal suffix (where G often omits the article). The examples in v. 31 conform to this latter construction, and while Ziegler's omission of the article is quite possible, there must remain a large element of doubt. Ziegler's general analysis (1958: 139) points to the proper absence of the article before such constructions, but admits that, in practice, there is no unified tradition in G. The statistics he provides are as follows (1958: 127): G lacks the article 35 out of 160 times in Jeremiah α', 40 out of 100 times in Jeremiah β', and 15 out of 35 times in Lamentations. None of the three translators drew a clear line. The strongest cases for removing the article from the G text are made with frequent expressions that nearly always lack the article (e.g. מפני | ἀπὸ προσώπου μου, p. 139).[17] I have collated the parallels to v. 31 below.

The final consideration is the character of the witnesses Ziegler follows, in this case the Q-V group (1958: 150-51). These MSS often add the article secondarily, but in a few places omit it with M. Of these last, Ziegler remarks that if the translator had been consistent, he would have omitted the article, in which case it may be that the article really was omitted originally, so that Q-V-etc. are witnesses to the true tradition—but certainty is not to be had.

There are two close parallels to the expression in v. 31, and two distant ones:[18]

a. 10.24 אל באפך | μὴ ἐν θυμῷ] + σου *O*-86^{mg}-233 Aeth = M
b. 15.14 באפי | ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου] εν τω θυμω μου 130 Co = 174
c. 32[39].31 על אפי ועל חמתי | ἐπὶ ὀργήν μου καὶ ἐπὶ θυμόν μου | ὀργήν Q-V-etc. *O*-233 Olymp.] pr. την rel.; θυμόν V-etc. *O*-233] pr. τον rel.

17. Ziegler establishes such cases much more firmly than the related cases of construct noun + prep., where he argues for secondary *omission* of the article (see §4.3.1).

18. The terms חמתי and אפי (with suffix) are combined four times without a preposition, and three out of four have the article in G (as expected). In 21.5 we find ובאף ובחמה ובקצף | μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς μεγάλης, which is unusual but unsurprising (cf. Ziegler 1958: 136-38).

d. 32[39].37 באפי ובחמתי ובקצף | ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ ἐν θυμῷ μου καὶ ἐν παροξυσμῷ | ὀργῇ] pr. τῃ *L*΄ α΄;
ἐν2° Cypr.] > B-S A-106΄; θυμῷ V *O* *C*΄] pr. τω rel.;
ἐν3° Syh *C*΄-613 534 verss. Cypr.] > rel.
e. 33[40].5 באפי ובחמתי | ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ ἐν θυμῷ μου |
ὀργῇ] pr. τῃ Q^{mg} (sub ※) 86^{mg};
θυμω] pr. τω S Q^{mg} (sub ※) *L*΄-86^{mg}

Of examples a and b, one has and one lacks the article. Of examples c-e, example e is clear cut and consistent, and Ziegler has plainly taken it for his guide in examples c and d, where, against Rahlfs and the majority of witnesses, he has omitted the article thrice (and added ἐν twice).

I tentatively accept Ziegler's judgment in these verses, simply noting that there is a presupposition of translator consistency behind it which can never be proved—indeed, since attempts to measure the translator's consistency, either using word order (Marquis 1986) or a combination of criteria (Tov and Wright 1985), show Jeremiah to be less than wholly consistent, there are bound to be occasions when Ziegler inadvertently 'corrects' an original G reading. Examples c and d are far neater in Ziegler than in Rahlfs, and one cannot help wondering if they might be neater than they have ever been.

5.3.4

למלך | τῷ βασιλεῖ Zi. θ΄ 86] μολοχ Q-V-26-46-86΄-130-534-544 *O* (מלכום Syh)-233 $L^{\leftarrow 36}$-538 *C* Aeth Arm: cf. 𝔐; pr. μολοχ B-S-239 A-106΄ 36 c-613 Bo Arab (v. 35).

Ziegler defends this choice (p. 130) on the grounds that the B-group reading is a pre-hexaplaric doublet (cf. 2 Sam. 12.30) that was revised in the light of M by Q-V etc. (the Q text was the *Vorlage* of *O*: Ziegler 1958: 150). But the revision involved deleting the part that disagreed with M, namely Μολοχ (after the Masoretic pointing [*sic*]).[19] A clue to the originality of βασιλεῖ is the witness of θ΄, who often takes up the Old Greek.[20]

19. Note that where Vg reads *Moloch*, Jerome's commentary has *idolo Moloch* (Migne 1845: 897). Rather than reflecting a doublet similar to the M tradition, this is more likely a simple exegetical gloss.

20. Spohn (1824: 147) gives greater weight to Syh Arab, and concludes that βασιλεῖ is a secondary explanatory addition to Μολοχ. Yet Ziegler's conclusion is strengthened by the observation that in Lev. 18.21 θ΄ reads Μολοχ for מלך | ἄρχων;

Ziegler's decision leaves us with an odd rendition. The word מֹלֶךְ occurs just eight times in MT (Lev. 18.21; 20.2, 3, 4, 5; 1 Kgs 11.7[5]; 2 Kgs 23.10; Jer. 32.35). Of these, 1 Kgs 11.7[5] is almost certainly an error for מלכם, the last ם having dropped out.[21] The Septuagint uses Μολοχ erroneously in Amos 5.26.[22] Its renderings are as follows:[23]

Lev. 18.21; 20.2-4	למלך	ἄρχοντι
Lev. 20.5	המלך	τοὺς ἄρχοντας
1 Kgs 11.7[5]	למלך	τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν
2 Kgs 23.10	למלך	τῷ Μολοχ
Jer. 32.35	למלך	τῷ βασιλεῖ] τω μολοχ βασιλει B-S-239 A-106′ etc.
Amos 5.26	מלככם	Μολοχ

It goes without saying that in Jer. 32.35 LXXV = M; the point of interest is why G should have chosen βασιλεῖ (if indeed Ziegler is correct). The examples above show the predominance of renditions other than Μολοχ, although the use of βασιλεῖ in 1 Kgs 11.7 provides no precedent—it is probably trying to avoid an erroneous identification of Molech with the Ammonites, especially since Milcom has been named as their god in v. 5.

Nevertheless, it may be that the translator of Jer. 32[39].35 wanted to avoid equating Baal and Molech. This is an unpromising suggestion at first glance, since Jer. 7.31—one of the two close parallels to our verse (the other is 19.5)—links Tophet and the valley of Hinnom, which was the locus of the Molech cult according to 2 Kgs 23.10. And if Μολοχ was used there, why not in Jer 32[39].35? Yet the relationship of Baal and Molech is not unambiguous,[24] and it remains quite possible that the translator wanted to keep their identities separate—probably in the interests of historical accuracy.

indeed, Jer. 32.35 provides the only time when οι γ′ do not correct the Septuagint's version of מֹלֶךְ to Μολοχ (see below).

21. Day 1989: 74. Note that Lucianic MSS have Μιλχομ and Pesh ܡܠܟܘܡ.

22. For a discussion of the crux in Amos 5, see Heider (1985: 306-10).

23. Vg and οι γ′ (where they survive) read *Moloch*/Μολοχ consistently. Tg Onqelos in Leviticus transliterates, as does Tg Jonathan in Kings and Jeremiah. Pesh has ܢܘܟܪܝܬܐ in Leviticus (cf. Tgs Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti 1 according to Day [1989: 12 n. 31]) and ܠܐܡܠܟܘܢ in 2 Kings and Jeremiah.

24. The modern debate over Molech's relationship to other deities is long and complex (for a recent summary and literature, see Heider [1995: cols. 1095-97]; cf. also Day [1989: 34-36; 2000: 213]). Whatever the solution, it is viable to suppose that the two gods were quite distinct in the mind of the translator.

5.4 *Quantitative Variants*

5.4.1

הנה | > (v. 27). Despite Warner's suggestion that a copyist misheard the dictation 'on account of אֲנִי following' (1940: 102), this is probably a recensional feature, as I argue below (§5.6.2).

5.4.2

יהוה | κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ (v. 28). Of all *BtF*s in Jeremiah, only 23.38 (כה אמר יהוה | τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός) and 32[39].28 are longer in G. While we can be moderately sure that G has rendered LXXV faithfully here, there is no textual way to show whether M or G reflects the earlier form. Parablepsis in the M tradition is rare, so this is more probably a recensional feature. In G (LXXV), the longer title serves an obvious structuring function, balancing the title in v. 36 and so demarcating the two-part answer to Jeremiah's prayer: the bad news (vv. 28-35) and the good news (vv. 36-44). In M the same units are delineated by לכן. Since לכן is a G minus in v. 36, we see the same goal approached differently by each version. Has the translator compensated for his removal of לכן (if he did remove it) by adding an alternative structuring device? Was LXXV revised secondarily for the same reason? Did M abbreviate intentionally, for example, to dissociate ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ from this announcement of judgment? On the evidence, we cannot be certain, but it does seem that the plus is better explained as a recensional innovation in LXXV.[25] While the translator is often paraphrastic for reasons of style and meaning, an interest in structure is elsewhere peculiar to his *Vorlage* (e.g. §6.6.3).

25. Patterns of expansion of divine names follow the general tendency observed in connection with the titles of Zedekiah, tending to remain fuller upon repetition in M than they do in G. For example, the title יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל occurs in full in all the references below, but in G it grades down as the passage in question develops:

κύριος ὁ θεος Ισραηλ	19.3	29[36].4			44[51].2
κύριος παντοκρατωρ			32[39].14		44[51].7
κύριος	19.15	29[36].8, 21	32[39].15	35[42].17,18	44[51].11
om.		29[36].25		35[42].19	

This is one more indication that the use of proper names is part of the recensional strategy of each version.

5.4.3

כי בני ישראל אך מכעסים אתי במעשה ידיהם נאם יהוה | om. (v. 30b). If נאם יהוה is judged original to M, then the remainder could have dropped out by a large haplography (a skipped line) of about 31 letters: ...מנערתיהם ידיהם. This tallies with a possible haplography of 30 letters in v. 5b, consistent with an exemplar of narrow columns.[26] Alternatively, the whole half-verse could have dropped out (34-37 letters): 'note three successive sentences...beginning with the word kī' (Bright 1965: 296). A further argument in favour of haplography is the lack of a second finite verb in M; היו (v. 30a) governs both halves of the verse, where one might expect it to be added afresh were v. 30b a gloss.[27] A haplography in G (αὐτῶν...αὐτῶν, or ὅτι...ὅτι) is unlikely in view of the equivalence אך 1° | μόνοι; if the sons of Israel and the sons of Judah alone were sinning (v. 30a), then it is very awkward to have the sons of Israel (even if this means all Israel) alone in their actions in v. 30b—that is, the choice of μόνος suggests that the exemplar contained only one אך.

It is the absence of בני יהודה 2° that troubles scholars the most. Hitzig (1866: 264-65), with most others, takes בני ישראל 2° to signify all Israel, as opposed to בני ישראל 1°, and because he thinks that v. 30b fits the context so well, he suggests that כי was originally כל.[28] Volz (1920: 243) suggests that an original בני יהודה 2° was abbreviated as בני י׳ and so dropped out. But most scholars deduce from the absence of בני יהודה 2° that v. 30b is a gloss, their conclusion reinforced by its 'commonness'[29] and redundant nature.[30] Yet anything less than this double

26. 'The measurements given in *b. Menaḥ* 30a mentioning lines of 32 letters, including the spaces between the words, conform with the narrow scrolls from Qumran' (Tov 1992b: 205). A longer haplography of 53 letters in vv. 5b-6 would tally with the 50-letter haplography in 27[34].13-14 (Tov 1979: 87), but as this is further removed and possibly longer yet (Janzen 1973: 118), we give it less consideration.

27. According to Blayney (1784: 217), 'Four MSS. and one Edition here add היו after כי, as before at the beginning of the verse.'

28. Hitzig (1866: 265) maintains that v. 30a is too short on its own; 'from their youth' in v. 30 introduces 'from the day they built it' in v. 31; the 'wrath' of v. 31 is fanned by the 'provoking' (כעס) of v. 30; v. 32 explicitly reintroduces Judah.

29. E.g. Stipp 1994: 100. Carroll (1986: 626) speaks of 'Deuteronomistic glossing of the tradition', but the distinctiveness to Jeremiah of language like this has been stressed by Weippert (1973: esp. 213-14, 226-27).

30. Giesebrecht (1894: 180) was the first to put all these reasons together, and little has been added since; he is followed by Streane (1896), Cornill (1895), Duhm

statement would be insufficient as a conclusion to the careful build-up of vv. 28b-29, in which three balanced statements advance the discourse to a climax, highlighted by the focus marker נאם יהוה.[31] A further indication of the crescendo achieved by this unit is the way in which the second major term of each line (underlined) is promoted in the succeeding line (twice underlined):[32]

28b YHWH gives the city	to the Chaldeans	to take;
29a the Chaldeans	will burn the city	with fire;
29b the houses	where Israel's idolatry	provoked YHWH;

30 for Israel has done evil deeds from her youth;
for Israel has provoked me with her deeds.

Like the preceding literary arguments, this one cannot bear much weight. However, the textual possibilities are strong, so that I judge M to reflect the original text, with LXXV having suffered haplography.

5.4.4

היתה לי | ἦν (v. 31). <ל + suffix> is found 239 times in Jeremiah, and taking לי (40 times) as a sample, we find the following equivalents: (1) με thrice; (2) μοι 26 times;[33] (3) free renditions eight times;[34] (4) G om. thrice. The other two omissions are 2.21, which has textual problems (cf. Holladay 1986: 53), and 33[40].9, which is missing two words in LXXV (cf. McKane 1996b: 858). In neither is it a simple matter of translation technique; *Vorlage* questions are involved for both M and G. The real basis for comparison is group (2), where לי is governed seven times by היה | εἰμι. The literal renderings result in Hebraisms, including the covenant formula of 32.38 (seven times). Other examples include 12.8, היתה לי נחלתי | ἐγενήθη ἡ κληρονομία μου ἐμοί; 20.17, ותהי לי אמי קברי

(1901), Peake (1911), Elliott-Binns (1919), Nötscher (1934), and so on down to the present. NEB, REB delete v. 30b.

31. Parunak 1994: 512. See the text layout in §2.5.

32. This bears strong resemblance to the poetic phenomenon of the extended terrace pattern or anadiplosis (Watson 1995 [1984]: 208-13), which creates cohesion and —in the case of the extended pattern—a sense of inevitability: there is no escape.

33. Including two changes of person, i.e. σεαυτῷ, αὐτῷ, grouped here because they are both dative.

34. The eight occurrences include אוי [נא] לי (four times), rendered οἴμμοι ἐγώ, οἴμμοι οἴμμοι, or οὐαὶ; and 1.sg. verbs rendering idiomatic Hebrew verbal constructions, namely, 4.19 (a double rendering in G: cf. McKane 1986: 103); 5.5; 15.8; 20.7 (pass. for act.).

| καὶ ἐγένετό μοι ἡ μήτηρ μου τάφος μου; 23.14, היו לי כלם כסדם | ἐγενήθησάν μοι πάντες ὡς Σοδομα.[35] Nevertheless, כי על אפי...העיר הזאת in our verse is an unusual expression, so that a degree of simplification by the translator may have occurred. The only other equivalent idiom is 2 Kgs 24.20 = Jer. 52.3 (M only), כי על אף יהוה היתה בירושלם | ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν θυμὸν κυρίου ἦν ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ (cf. Ps. 138[137].7). Later revisers of G inserted μοι (※*O*-Q^{mg}, also ※ Syh according to Norberg, 166).

Unless the translator found the idiom of the clause especially impenetrable and simplified accordingly (from 2 Kgs 24.20?),[36] it is likely that LXXV lacked לי,[37] whether originally (so that M has clarified the sense by an addition), or by haplographic omission (see n. 28).

5.4.5

בני ישראל ובני יהודה | υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα (v. 32). Another example of 'partial equivalence' is 30[37].4, אל ישראל ואל יהודה | ἐπὶ Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα. The ratio of 'full' to 'partial' equivalence in such phrases is 9 : 2,[38] making inconsistent translation a viable explanation; that is, LXXV = M. The fact that G provides υἱὸς 2° in v. 30, however, suggests

35. There are three transpositions involving לי | μοι, out of 26 possibilities—11.5 per cent. All of them move ἐμοὶ after the predicate. Were there a similar transposition in the LXXV tradition of 32[39].31, such that לי preceded למן, haplography would be possible.

36. Several commentators, especially Naegelsbach (1868: 236), have struggled with לי because of a perceived conflict with להסירה, which he makes dependent on היתה. Note also that the grammar 'is filled out by Kimchi with the insertion of קימת "fixed", "ordained" which connects 'על אפי ועל חמתי' with 'להסירה מעל פני' (McKane 1996b: 848). Such considerations could have troubled the ancient translator, though Edlin is probably right in taking להסירה for a 'double-duty modifier' that goes with both the preceding and the following phrase (1985: 105).

37. So Giesebrecht (1894: 180), who adds that לי is probably original to M. Cf. Workman 1889: 349; Stulman 1985: 82.

38. 5.11; 11.10, 17; 32[39].30; 33[40].7; 34[41].7; 36[43].2; 50[27].33 have a double phrase 'X-Proper noun and X-Proper noun', where 'X' can be a prep. or cs. noun. G represents 'X' both times. (31[38].27 presents a different kind of variant: את בית ישראל ואת בית יהודה | τὸν Ισραηλ καὶ τὸν Ιουδαν.) References excluded are those with chains of more than two elements (9.25; 44.1; 48.21-24), cases where G has a verb interrupting the chain (by transposition: 4.5; 29.22; 46.14) and cases where the M plus includes a proper noun (34.19; 46.25). More examples of 'partial equivalence' in G can be found by extending the inquiry to common nouns, e.g. 31[38].12.

to Migsch (1996: 360 n. 126) that M may have added the term.[39] I suspect a free rendition on account of the freedom with which the rest of v. 32 has been rendered (see below).

5.4.6

המה מלכיהם שריהם כהניהם ונביאיהם ואיש יהודה וישבי יר׳ | αὐτοὶ <u>καὶ</u> οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν <u>καὶ</u> οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν <u>καὶ</u> οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν <u>καὶ</u> οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν > ἄνδρες Ιουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ιερ. (v. 32). G frequently adds καὶ to lists, presumably for stylistic reasons. In the following discussion '+' represents a conjunction and 'L' represents a 'long' term: that is, with more than one vocable.

The following patterns of list-writing in M may be observed: (1) a conjunction between every term (1+2+3+4+5); (2) a conjunction before every term (+1+2+3+4+5); (3) a four-term list divided into two pairs (1+2 3+4); (4) a conjunction before the last term (1 2 3 4+5); (5) a conjunction before the last two terms (1 2 3+4+5); (6) other conformations.[40] There is often exact translation equivalence in groups (1-3),[41] and there are often G pluses in groups (3-6), as the following table of variants indicates:

		M	G	
(2)	a.	+1L+2L+3L+4L+5L	1L+2L+3L+4L+5L	40[47].8
(3)	b.	1+2 3+4	1+2+3+4	3.24; 24.9; 44[51].21
	c.	1+2+3+4	1+2 3+4	41[48].8
(4)	d.	1 2+3 +4L+5L+6L	+1+2+3 +4L+5L+6L	7.9
	e.	1 2+3 +4L+5L+6L	1+2+3 +4L+5L+6L	33[40].13
	f.	1 2 3 4+5 +6L+7L	1+2+3+4+5 6L+7L	32[39].32
	g.	1 2 3+4	1+2+3+4	35[42].8
	h.	1 2+3	1+2+3	41[48].5
(5)	j.	1 2 3+4+5	1+2+3+4+5	2.26
	k.	1 2+3+4	‹1›+2+3+4	14.16[42]
(6)	m.	1+2+3 4...	1+2+3+4...	25.18[32.4][43]
	n.	1 2	1+2	48[31].34

39. Workman (1889: 349), Min (1977: 71), Stulman (1985: 82) and Bogaert (1995: 61) all omit בני from LXXV.

40. Cf. GKC, §154a n. 1a.

41. For example, M = G = +1+2+3 in 23.24; 35[42].9; 36[43].25; M = G = 1+2+3 in 22.2; 25.9; 40[47].10; M = G = 1+2+3+4+5+6 in 9.25; M = G = 1+2 3+4 in 17.25; 41[48].16; 42[49].18.

42. The first term in G probably dropped from LXXV by haplography: ל<u>המה</u> <u>המה</u> נשיהם | αὐτούς› καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν.

43. This sequence is actually the beginning of a list of over 30 terms

The first observation is that the conjunction is nearly always a G plus, not an M plus. Of the 14 examples above, there are two exceptions (examples a, c), neither of them in groups (4-6). Secondly, lists of long terms (L) always have a conjunction between each term. Conjunctions are probably more prevalent in G in part because Greek requires more than one word to render one Hebrew vocable. Thirdly, examples d-f are best viewed as two lists joined, with the first list belonging to group (4), the second to group (1), and a conjunction joining the two. The conjunction's absence in G (example f) is probably due to influence from 17.25, המה ושריהם איש יהודה וישבי ירושלם | αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Ιουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ιερουσαλημ (group 3).[44]

My conclusion is that in 32[39].32 the conjunctions in LXXV are those of M, with all variations being stylistic innovations by the translator.[45] Compare the variations between Vg and the version in Jerome's commentary (Migne 1845: 897): *ipsi et reges eorum* [Jerome + *et*] *principes eorum* [Vg + *et*] *sacerdotes et prophetae eorum.*

5.4.7

לטמאו | ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν (v. 34). *BHK* retroverts Go 'בְּטֻמְאָתָם?'[46] and thereby illustrates the problem of this equivalence. We shall move to the main problem via a consideration of the choice of lexeme. This is best illustrated by a comparison with the parallel verse:

(25.18-26[32.4-12]), which is continued in the next verse after a brief aside. The break in M before term four is one of three such pauses unique to M within the list (vv. 19, 21 contain the others); G, not M, is punctuated once in v. 20 [6].

44. It is the missing conjunction in 32[39].32 that troubles scholars most: for example, Holladay (1989: 205), because it is a G minus, which is so often the grounds for emendation of M, and Giesebrecht (1894: 180), who says that it is lacking in Pesh Vg, with only Tg following M (although Pesh as represented in Walton and Samuel Lee actually represents it).

45. This survey permits a comment on Ziegler's text at 39[46].3, the difficult list of Babylonian names. The terms are joined as follows: in M, 1 2 3 4 5 6+7; in MS B, 1+2+3+4 5 6+7; in Rahlfs, 1+2+3+4+5 6+7; in Ziegler, 1 2 3 4 5 6+7. The huge problems given copyists by the foreign names have quite possibly promoted inner-Greek changes to the connectives as well, but given the tendency of G to add rather than subtract καὶ, Ziegler's smoothing out of the difficulties is probably in the wrong direction, especially given the contrary textual evidence for some of the conjunctions (e.g. καὶ 2°] all MSS (÷ *O*) but 613 Bo Aeth; καὶ 3°] all MSS but S *O* *L*-407-613 La^{W} Bo Aeth Arm).

46. טמאה is the most common equivalent for ἀκαθαρσία in the OT.

7.30 שמו שקוציהם בבית אשר נקרא שמי עליו לטמאו | ἔταξαν τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν τοῦ μιᾶναι αὐτόν

32.34 וישימו שקוציהם בבית אשר נקרא שמי עליו לטמאו | καὶ ἔθηκαν τὰ μιάσματα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν

The lexical variations show that the translator was not simply copying the earlier verse. μίασμα has replaced βδέλυγμα, ἀκαθαρσία has replaced μιαίνω. It may well be a matter of the idiolect of Jeremiah β', though the rarity of these words in Jeremiah makes certainty impossible. Thus, where βδέλυγμα is used seven times in Jeremiah α' for three different Hebrew words,[47] it is used in Jeremiah β' only for תועבה (32.35; 44.22). μιαίνω[48] is used six times in Jeremiah α' (rendering טמא in 2.7, 23; 7.30), but never in Jeremiah β'. The fact that βδέλυγμα is used in 32[39].35 may have moved the translator to make use of the rare word μίασμα[49] in the previous verse to avoid lexical levelling.

ἀκαθαρσία is similarly rare, used just twice in Jeremiah, for טמא (adj.) in 19.13,[50] and for טמא (vb.) only in Jer. 32[39].34; Lev. 15.31; 20.25—all pi. inf. cs. It is worth considering whether the translator made the choice of ἀκαθαρσία rather than μιαίνω in an allusion to Lev. 20.25, which speaks of the abomination (שקץ) that comes by eating unclean animals, and ends, אשר הבדלתי לכם לטמא | ἃ ἐγὼ ἀφώρισα ὑμῖν ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ. Perhaps the translator (or revisor) understood Jer. 32[39].34 to be alluding to the eating of unclean food in temple rituals; perhaps, however, he was influenced by the common syntax <prep. + suffix + ל + pi. inf. cs.>. Unusually, ἐν occurs in both verses.

However, the syntax is not identical, as Jer. 32.34 has an extra suffix as compared with Lev. 20.25, לטמאו. My suggestion is that this suffix dropped out of LXXV by homoioteleuton: לטמא֯ו ו֯יבנו.[51] This would leave the translator to supply an object from the context—and the object

47. תועבה in 2.7; 7.10, מזמה in 11.15 and שקוץ in 4.1; 7.30; 13.27; 16.18.

48. The most common translation equivalent for טמא in the OT, it is used 40 out of 52 times.

49. It renders three different Hebrew words once each (Lev. 7.18; Ezek. 33.21).

50. It also translates the adj. in Lev. 22.4; Ezek. 22.10.

51. Streane (1896: 224) retroverts '(לְטֻמְאָו or) בְּטֻמְאָו', that is, a defective pl. to explain ἀκαθαρσίαις, but this seems a perverse way to read the consonantal text. Workman (1889: 350), citing Lev. 16.16, suggests the same form as *BHK,* as does Migsch (1996: 70), who thinks G secondary.

he chose not only fits the context, but also avoids the statement that the house of God is defiled.[52]

5.5 *Qualitative Variants*

5.5.1

יפלא כל דבר | κρυβήσεταί τι (v. 27). As discussed in §4.2.2, it is very unlikely that LXXV had a verb other than פלא. Although the same unusual verb root as that used in v. 17 is chosen, it is varied slightly (ἀποκρυβῇ, κρυβήσεταί), and so is the translation of כל דבר (οὐθέν, τι), whose variation seems due to the difference between a negative statement (where לא has prompted οὐθέν) and a question (where הֲ has prompted τι). It may also be that the difference in word order has prompted the prefix ἀπο- in v. 17, since the independent preposition ἀπὸ now follows the verb (cf. v. 27 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ κρυβήσεταί).

The choice of the future tense is a departure from 'discourse literalism'—it has ignored the post-positive position of יפלא in M.[53]

5.5.2

הנלחמים | πολεμοῦντες (v. 29). The absence of the article in G changes the meaning of the clause from 'the Chaldeans, the ones fighting' to 'the Chaldeans will come, fighting'. A word-for-word retroversion yields *ובאו הכשדים נלחמים על העיר הזאת, a periphrastic construction describing successive events. But it is doubtful that LXXV read *נלחמים (without the article), since the resultant construction is rarely, if ever, found in OT Hebrew. The verb בוא is often followed by a ptc., but nearly always the ptc. functions as a noun. When it functions verbally, it indicates simultaneous action.[54] My retroversion is peculiarly Greek, and suggests that contextual exegesis lies behind G.

52. Bogaert (1995: 67), who holds that an original LXXV (בטמאתם?) was altered by M, finds a corresponding theological motivation for the change, namely an interest in the temple and offerings, with a corresponding interest in the consequence of impurity.

53. *x-yiqtol* is a discourse construction at degree zero of linguistic perspective—present tense in 32.27 (Niccacci, §§56, 135). The parallel in v. 17 is rendered by the aorist subjunctive ἀποκρυβῇ.

54. Examples include Lev. 26.25; 1 Kgs 10.22 = 2 Chron. 9.21; Isa. 30.27; Hos. 13.15; Hab. 1.8; Ps. 126.6; Song 2.8. I have found just two places (and the second is doubtful) where successive actions are in view:

The reason for such a rendition is probably the G minus in the previous verse (discussed in §5.6.3); הנלחמים presupposes an antecedent reference to the taking of the city by the Chaldeans. For this reason it would appear that an original *הכשדים וביד in v. 28 dropped not from G, but from LXXV—its originality is indicated by the article with הנלחמים, and its absence from the exemplar of G is indicated by the absence of οἱ 2° in v. 29.

5.5.3

ושרפוה ואת הבתים | καὶ κατακαύσουσι τὰς οἰκίας (v. 29). Once again, G haplography is physically possible: ושרפוה ואת הבתים (cf. *BHK*). However, such a grammatically smooth reading, if it represents LXXV, is more probably contextual exegesis motivated by the translator's need to compensate for the lexical poverty he has imposed on himself in translating יצת | καίω and שרף | κατακαίω.[55] It is rather redundant to link the second verb to the same object as the first, and, by using הבתים as a second discrete object, the problem is avoided. This also has the effect of making the verse flow more smoothly.

Barthélemy (1986: 697) opts for an intentional simplification to ושרפו את הבתים (noting the parallel double relative in 19.13), but others take G to reflect the older reading, from the same evidence—'the rhetoric is smoother'.[56] M is also rhetorically effective, however, as the verb makes a strong bridge from v. 29a to b, allowing a passage from 'Chaldeans' to 'houses'. A similar technique is evidenced by the double-duty modifier להסירה in v. 31 (discussed in n. 36 above). The only other defence of M as secondary is that, inspired by the twofold

Judg. 8.4	ויבא גדעון הירדנה עֹבר הוא ושלש מאות האיש
2 Sam. 15.18	וכל עבדיו עברים על ידו...שש מאות איש אשר
	באו ברגלו מגת עֹברים על פני המלך

For a parallel clause involving successive actions, cf. Jer. 37.8.

55. יצת hi. is rendered by ἀνάπτω four times in Jeremiah α' and καίω three out of four times in Jeremiah β' (Tov 1976: 99), making καίω the expected equivalent here. שרף is most often rendered κατακαίω (12 times), but three other synonyms are used in Jeremiah (καίω, ἐμπυρίζω, ἐμπίμπρημι), and the translator will use them when the two Hebrew terms come close together. Thus 43[50].12 has יצת | καίω + שרף | ἐμπυρίζω; in v. 13 the usual שרף | κατακαίω is found. The lexical poverty in 32[39].29 is self-imposed, but real for all that.

56. Holladay 1989: 205; cf. Cornill 1895: 22. But Giesebrecht (1894: 180) believes the ה– suffix to be necessary, as the preceding verb means only to set fire to, but not to destroy by fire (cf. 43.12).

repetition of 'this city', it stressed the destruction of Jerusalem by the added enclitic pronoun (Migsch 1996: 359).[57] Evidence for M's originality is stronger.

5.5.4

אך | μόνοι (v. 30). This is an unexpected use of the adjective μόνοι.[58] אך is usually rendered πλήν when contrastive ('however'), but when emphatic ('surely') or restrictive ('only') it is represented with greater variety: ἀλλά (2.35; 26[33].15; 34[41].4), πλήν, ἴσως, ὄντως, ὡς (3.13; 5.4; 10.19; 16.19 respectively). There is no need, then, to doubt that LXXV= M.[59] Had אך 2° been present in the exemplar of G, this translation would have been more awkward.

Jerome (Migne 1845: 896) is aware of the polysemy of אך, pointing out that α΄ renders it πλήν, σ΄ (1st edn) θ΄ and 'Septuaginta'[60] render it *solos* (only). σ΄ (2nd edn) has δι ολου,[61] but he prefers *iugiter* (continually).[62] He plainly has no doubts as to *Vorlage* (see also Spohn 1824: 144-45).

5.5.5

למן היום אשר בנו | ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ᾠκοδόμησαν (v. 31). In Jeremiah, למן is rendered ἐξ (7.7), ἀπό (7.25: למן היום אשר יצאו | ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐξήλθοσαν; 25.5; 31.34; 32.31; 42.8; 51.62). The cited parallel also establishes the rendition of the אשר clause as normal for LXXV = M.

5.5.6

על | διά (v. 32). על is most usually rendered ἐπί + acc., but a wide range of prepositions is used, depending on context (e.g. περί + gen.; ὑπέρ +

57. Perhaps Migsch has in mind Duhm's suspicion of העיר הזאת (1901: 268).

58. Gen. 7.23 is the only other such equivalence. Jer. 15.17; 49.31[30.9] have בדד | μόνος. The adverb μόνον might be more appropriate (cf. Gen. 27.13; 34.22, 23), and is found in MS 87; α΄ reads πλήν.

59. Michaelis (1793: 262) corrects to μόνον. Hitzig (1866: 265) suggests that the translator's eye strayed to אחרים in the previous line. Both Jerome (Migne 1845: 896) and Spohn (1824: 144-45) consider that LXXV = M.

60. Jerome's text is a representative of the Hexaplaric recension (Ziegler, 20).

61. See Ziegler's apparatus.

62. 'Verbum Hebraicum ACH (אך [*sic*]), Aquila interpretatus est πλὴν... Symmachi prima editio, et Septuaginta, et Theodotio, *solos* interpretati sunt. Secunda quippe Symmachi vertit διόλον, quem et nos in præsentiarum secuti sumus, ut diceremus *jugiter*.'

gen.; εἰς; πρός; dat. alone). διά renders על just 22 out of 526 times, including על כן | διὰ τοῦτο (14 times) and על מה | διὰ τί (twice). Thrice, διά + gen. is used of passing through (Heb. = על) a country or city. In the three remaining cases, G interprets the preposition as introducing a cause (cf. Waltke, §11.12.13e): 9.13 (על עזבם | διὰ τὸ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν); 12.11 (עלי | δι' ἐμὲ); 32[39].32. Some other possible causal uses of על are rendered with περί + gen. (1.16; 3.8; 33[40].5, 9) and ὑπέρ + gen. (19.8).

There is no reason to think that LXXV ≠ M here, since in the case of polysemous words the translator was (inevitably) guided by context; when the range of meanings in the two languages is not contiguous, stereotyping is impossible. Hence, in vv. 31-32, על is rendered with three different Greek prepositions, each time appropriately (cf. Martin 1957: 306).

5.5.7
ולמד אתם השכם ולמד | καὶ ἐδίδαξα αὐτοὺς ὄρθρου καὶ ἐδίδαξα (v. 33). The inf. abs. is unusual, with the parallels in Jeremiah having finite verbs.

Many older commentators emend M, from Blayney (1784: 218), who revocalizes as a ptc. and emends to ואני למד, to Giesebrecht (1894: 181), whose emendation to וָאֲלַמֵּד appears in the apparatus of *BHK*, and is followed by many others.[63] But there have always been some, including the grammars, who accept ולמד 1° as an 'Infinitivus historicus' (Michaelis 1793: 262), and today this view prevails.[64] Thus GKC (§113ff) says that this idiom is used for lively narration of what continues even in the present (e.g. 8.15; 14.19).

Decisive arguments against retroverting to a different *Vorlage* were put forward in the first place by Driver (1889: 331), who criticized Workman's retroversion of this Hebrew idiom on the grounds that it is 'difficult, and even impossible, to reproduce in another language';[65] and

63. E.g. Condamin 1920: 243; Volz 1920: 243; Rothstein 1922: 815; Nötscher 1934: 243; also Weippert 1973: 126; Schreiner 1984: 194; Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 144. Ehrlich (1968 [1912]: 326) suggests וְלִמַּדְתִּים.

64. So Hitzig 1866: 265; Cornill 1895: 22; Duhm 1901: 269; and recently Carroll 1986: 627; Holladay 1989: 219; McKane 1996b: 848. Holladay renders 'to think I taught'.

65. Workman retroverted to ולמדתי (1889: 350). Driver's argument applies to Pesh ܘܐܠܦܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܩܕܡܬ ܘܐܠܦܬ and Vg *cum docerem eos dilucolo, et erudirem.*

secondly, by Streane (1896: 224), who noted of the Septuagint that 'their giving to 2° וְלַמֵּד precisely the same rendering would make it probable that with them, as with us, the two words were identical in form'. Huesman (1956: 433) confirmed that G 'is our best argument for the retention of ולמד' in his study of the infinitive absolute in the OT.

The only room for debate is over whether YHWH or the people (i.e. their teachers) carry out the activity indicated by the verb. Keukens takes the latter (minority) position, rendering, 'Despite constant instruction they did not listen and accepted no teaching.'[66] It should be noted that the parallel verses in Jeremiah have a finite verb in the place of the inf. abs. of 32[39].33, and each time YHWH is the speaker.[67] But it would be no more valid to argue that this proves the speaker of our verse to be YHWH than it would be to argue that the form of the verb is therefore corrupt here. This is an intensification of the idiom that we must allow the writer the privilege of using. The textual critic's urge to smooth out literary unevennesses is often a dangerous one.

5.5.8
את במות | τοὺς βωμοὺς (v. 35). This equivalence is found in 7.31; 48[31].35, though unusual elsewhere (twice in Isaiah, twice in MP). βωμός normally renders מזבח (23 times).

Migsch considers this tendentious, chosen to signify the heathenish nature of the offerings (1996: 79 n. 112). His authority, Barr (1985: 24), is less positive, however: nobody really knew what a במה was, and βωμός was the translator's best guess at a literal rendition. 'He may or may not also have preferred this word because he thought it disapproving in tone.'

5.6 *Variants of Special Interest*

5.6.1 *Predilection for the First Person*

אל ירמיהו | πρός με (v. 26). Having decided that in v. 6 M (אלי) was original and not G, we now find the readings reversed. Were this a

When the inf. abs. is used as an historic tense describing ongoing action, LXX renders with nouns (Hos. 4.2; 10.4) or with aor. (Jer. 8.15; 14.19 [Streane 1896: 142]; 32.33; Ezek. 23.30). Cf. GKC, §§113aa-gg. In Jer. 3.1, G = impf.; in Jer. 7.9, it uses pr. and impf. for the chain of six inf. abs. verbs continued in M by *wayyiqtol*.

66. 'Trotz ständiger Unterweisung gehorchten sie nicht und nahmen keine Lehre an' (1981: 19).

67. 7.13; 25.3; 35.14.

strictly mechanical variant, the probable mechanism would be an abbreviation expanded by M, and most commentators (and *BHK*) do, in fact, take G as original. Their reasons, when given, are to do with clarity: אלי is in accordance with the form of the whole chapter until this point (Cornill 1905: 366); אלי was expanded so as to make the sense clearer (van Selms 1974: 97).

Of course, this reasoning can be used to mount a *lectio difficilior* argument for M, which is what Barthélemy has done (1986: 696), followed by McKane (1996b: 846). But it is the evidence from parallel passages that makes Barthélemy's case convincing; he argues that we should treat all occurrences of the same variant in the same manner, and that critics have not been tempted to follow G in the parallels.

אל ירמיהו | πρός με occurs twice more in Jeremiah:[68]

	G	M	
a.	ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος πρὸς Ιερεμιαν παρὰ κυρίου	הדבר אשר היה אל י״ מאת יהוה	35.1
	καὶ ἐγένετο λ. κυρίου πρός **με**	ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו	35.12
	om.	ולבית הרכבים אמר ירמיהו	35.18
b.	ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρός **με**	היה הדבר הזה אל י״ מאת יהוה	36.1
	ἐγενήθη ὁ λ. οὗτος παρὰ κυρίου	היה הדבר הזה מאת יהוה	26.1
c.	καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγενήθη πρὸς **Ιερεμιαν**	ויאמר ירמיהו היה דבר יהוה אלי	32.6
	καὶ ἐγένετο λ. κυρίου πρός **με**	ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו	32.26

Example a. Chapters 35 and 32 are very similar in one respect. After the *WGF* of 35.1, vv. 2-11 move to level two of communication, that is, they are spoken by Jeremiah (§2.2.6.2). In M, v. 12 reverts to level one; in G, it continues on level two (cf. 32.26). G sustains this level of communication by the omission of Jeremiah's name in 35.18 (cf. σύ in 32.36, 43).

Just as for 32.26, in 35.12 both M and G have been defended, usually on literary-critical grounds.[69] The text-critical starting point is 35.18,

68. All are in *WEF*s. Four times (all in *BtF*s) G omits אלי but does not switch to the third person (13.1; 17.19; 25[32].15; 27[34].2). The formula is continued by הלוך | βάδισον (twice), קח | λαβὲ, and עשה | ποίησον. אלי—on the lips of Jeremiah addressing God—occurs mostly before Jer. 32; אל ירמיהו occurs mostly after.

69. Thus Holladay (1989: 245) argues that G is original, since it fits vv. 3-5 (first person) better. On the other hand, Mowinckel has been an influential advocate of M (1914: 58-59). He begins with Dan. 3.31–4.34, where a first-person section (3.31–4.15) is followed by a third-person section (4.16-30). He concludes that the

where the lack of the introduction bearing Jeremiah's name makes G the more difficult text, especially in view of the opening words (διὰ τοῦτο), which do not follow well from v. 17.[70] And if secondary here, G is most likely secondary in v. 12 (so Rudolph 1967: 226). To defend G v. 18 by the principle of *lectio difficilior* is inadvisable, given that its advocates defend the originality of G v. 12 by the opposite principle.

Example b. Jeremiah 36.1 is another complex case, and it is treated in detail by Stipp (1992: 92-93). Briefly, he argues that the elements הזה and מאת came into M 36.1 from 26.1 in order to strengthen the parallels between the chapters.[71] But this still leaves a choice between אל ירמיהו (M) or אלי (LXXV? G?) as original to the context. Given that 36.4 refers to Jeremiah in the third person, a first-person *WEF* variant would be unprecedented. All comparable shifts of person in Jeremiah are from third to first (see §2.2.5).[72] A possible exception is 28.1, ויהי...אמר אלי חנניה, continued in 28.5 by speech about Jeremiah.[73] I conclude that the

first-person form in Daniel is a secondary change in the interests of authenticity, but must also argue—unconvincingly—that the third-person central section is due to the redactor's superficial approach to the job. Likewise in Jeremiah, the third person is generally the original form in the autobiographical sections of Mowinckel's source C (3.6-11; 11.5-9; 18.3-5; [?]2.12-16 [*sic*], though he does allow that first-person forms are sometimes quite appropriate in source C). This is not a text-critical, but a literary, judgment (p. 58: 'Die Sache erklärt sich so, daß das Stück ursprünglich eine Erzählung in der 3. Person war'), though the variants under discussion play a supporting rôle. Against Mowinckel, however, it seems entirely appropriate that the symbolic acts should have been couched in first-person language from the start. Moreover, the variant readings are all contained within the overarching third-person framework of Jer. 32–45, so that the question is one of whether 35.12 continues the first-person section or returns to the larger 'narrative' frame.

70. Janzen's defence of the words (1973: 106) has been rebutted by McKane (1988: 108-109; 1996b: 889). McKane himself explains the differences in G along translational lines (1996b: 890), but this still fails to account for διὰ τοῦτο.

71. A trend seen elsewhere in M Jeremiah 36 (Stipp 1992: 93 n. 64, 94). One might question why, in that case, the words אל ירמיהו were not added to 26.1, but the point at hand is not materially affected.

72. Stipp follows Holladay (1989: 251) here, suggesting an earlier form of the verse, *היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו*. Rudolph's suggestion (1967: 228) that G has secondarily emended to אלי under the influence of 35.12 is refuted by Stipp's pointing out that the G omission of καὶ ἐγένετο (= ויהי) in 36.1a is an alteration *away* from 35.12.

73. Most commentators either delete אלי (Duhm 1901: 223; McKane 1996b:

first-person form is secondary, but 28.1 in M (and G) prevents us from excluding LXXV 36[43].1 as the source of אלי.[74]

Example c. Thus there seems to be a tendency reflected in G to favour the first person, which Barthélemy's opinion of 32.26 would reinforce. Diamond (1990), in a study of the confessions, claims that M is interested specifically in 'the prophetic individual, Jeremiah' (p. 35), while G broadens the applicability of the text to the reader, so that 'the speaker can be viewed as [any] pious man' (p. 38). Diamond believes this view to be consistent with a late alteration to the first person aimed at allowing readers to identify more easily with the protagonist; however, his grounds contrast strongly with those of Mowinckel, who states that redactors wanted to give the prophetic books a ring of authenticity, especially the late and inauthentic portions (1914: 58; so also Stipp 1992).[75]

Nearly all critics would attribute the variants to LXXV (though note McKane's judgment [1996b: 888-90] that in 35.18 G has rendered an M-like text freely), but without defending the assumption. Yet a quantitative variant such as this one is not explained by the M expansion theory, and the predilection for the first person could in principle belong to either G or LXXV. Two indications that the translator could be responsible are (1) the problematic shift from first to third person in 36.1-4 (the only parallels of the *WEF* variant in 36.1 are 26.1 and 27.1, where Jeremiah is spoken about in the third person);[76] and (2) my conclusion about 32[39].6, that LXXV contained אלי and the translator altered it to πρὸς Ιερεμίαν: this not only resolves the main objection to the theory of a predilection for the first person in LXXV, but also provides evi-

710) or emend to אל ירמיהו (Rudolph 1967: 178). The latter yields <אמר + אל + PN + PN>, unattested in the OT.

74. If his exemplar generally abbreviated the prophet's name, it would be easy for the translator to render אל י' as אלי, but then one wonders why he did not do so more often.

75. Migsch (1996: 289) has a more narrowly focused explanation for G 32[39].26 (which he, too, judges secondary)—the reviser behind the LXXV tradition wanted to lend the text from v. 26 a new structure, serving the pericope's new message. Of course, being a purely literary observation, this cannot form the basis of a textual judgment, but assumes it. Both M and G display coherent structures, and it is impossible to establish from the literary structure alone which is the more original, or whether both have improved upon an unattested base form.

76. In 26.1 the recipient is unidentified, there is a *BtF* cited by the narrator in v. 2 and Jeremiah is named and spoken about in v. 7. In 27.1 the formula ends, אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה.

dence of the translator's willingness to alter the way the prophet is referred to.[77] Against this may be put the general fidelity of the translator to his source, but this is no more than a general observation that it is the goal of this study to assess and modify as necessary.

5.6.2 *Hebraisms and Recensional Variants*

הנני נתן | δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται (v. 28). LXXV could read (1) הנתן ינתן or הנתן תנתן; (2) נתנה; (3) הנני נתן.

(1) The inf. abs. + finite vb. construction occurs 56 times in M,[78] 53 of which are in verses extant in G. Seven times, G renders by a single term,[79] otherwise by an appropriate Hebraism (46 times). These consist mostly of ptc. + finite vb. or noun + finite vb. constructions, with much internal inconsistency (Tov 1990: 72-73). The coexistence in Jeremiah 32[39] of παραδόσει and δοθεῖσα (cf. 38[45].3 παραδιδομένῃ) is a case in point.[80]

(2) Conversely, there are at least four occasions when the two-element Hebraism in G corresponds to no such construction in M.[81] Streane (1896: 5-6 n. 6) judges these uses to reflect the survival of an idiom after the language had ceased to be a living reality. This suggests that although the *Vorlage* of δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται in 32.28 more probably was an inf. abs. construction, it could potentially also have been a shorter expression, such as נתנה (cf. v. 36).

(3) Regarding the possibility LXXV = M, G could conceivably have desired to alter the voice from act. to pass.,[82] in which case a two-

77. It may or may not be coincidental that all relevant variants come in Jeremiah β'.

78. Seven of these have לא between the two verbs.

79. 11.12; 23.39; 25.29, 30 [32.14, 15]; 42[49].15; 49.12, 12 [29.13, 13]. Tov (1990: 70) counts only 5 of these, and 43 'Hebraisms' where we have 46, probably —for Tov lists only the total numbers—since we have included the few doubtful cases, for example, 25[32].29 (cf. Streane 1896: 190; Holladay 1986: 676).

80. Cf. also 31[38].20; 44[51].25: two or three inf. abs. constructions occur per verse, and are rendered differently each time, according to sense and context. This is another case of 'aspectual freedom, discourse literalism'.

81. Jer. 3.1 הָישׁוב | μὴ ἀνακάμπτουσα ἀνακάμψει
(cf. 3.1b חנוף תחנף | μιαινομένη μιανθήσεται)
Jer. 22.24 אם יהיה | ἐὰν γενόμενος γένηται
Jer. 31[38].33 נתתי | διδοὺς δώσω
Jer. 31[38].39 ונסב | καὶ περικυκλωθήσεται κύκλῳ

82. For a precedent, cf. 39[46].17 ולא תנתן | καὶ οὐ μὴ δώσω σε. Is G avoiding the statement that God handed over the city (Fischer 1997: 325)?

element Hebraism would retain the force of הנה as well as preserving quantitative equivalence. For Streane (1896: 223), the simple fact that G renders the same Hebrew construction the same way in 34[41].2 is enough to establish that LXXV = M.

However, הנני נתן and similar constructions (הנה + suff. or pronoun + ptc.) are rendered very consistently in G. Of the verses represented in G, 55 out of 60 use ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, and three of the exceptions are relevant to this discussion (32.24, 28; 34.2).[83] More generally, הנה occurs 139 times, and ἰδού 123 times in Jeremiah. All in all, there are five clear pluses in Jeremiah 1.1–25.13 (three in M, two in G),[84] and ten clear pluses (all M) in the rest of the book, five of which are in Jeremiah 32 + 34.2 alone.[85] To have so many pluses in one unit is unique in Jeremiah, and suggests conscious literary shaping, either by M in adding הנה, or by LXXV (or G) in removing it.

The possibility that the translator has dropped הנה and replaced it by his own structuring devices is untenable, given that he has not troubled to regularize his translation equivalents: this is the only occurrence of δοθεῖσα in Jeremiah (34[41].2 uses παραδόσει), and the shift to the passive destroys the parallelism with 32[39].3. Further, although the passive forms a balancing pair with v. 36, we cannot infer a free rendition, since the dropping of הנה is unaccounted for. The unstereotyped rendition also excludes option (2)—the *ad hoc* nature of the translation is the strongest argument for the most obvious retroversion.

Having narrowed the options, I conclude that הנה is original to the M tradition. The seven uses of הנה in Jeremiah 32 can be grouped into three balancing pairs and a singleton:

32.3————————————32.28 + 32.37
32.17———————————32.27
32.24a————32.24b

If I am right in arguing that LXXV v. 17 contained הנה (§4.6.1.3), then the first of each pair is present in both traditions, but the second of each

83. The others are 7.8, הנה אתם בטחים | εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς πεποίθατε (either a corruption of ἰδοὺ [Spohn 1824], or an Aramaic rendition of הן [Streane 1896]); 49.35[25.15], הנני שבר | συντριβήτω.

84. The pluses in M are 4.24; 7.8; 8.8, 9; 24.1, and in G, 1.10; 4.10; 5.5; 11.10; 22.17; however, the underlined references are not simple additions of הנה | ἰδού, but unusual renditions or textual corruptions.

85. 25.29; 30.23; 32.17, 24 [2×], 27, 28; 34.2; 48.40; 49.12, 15, 35; 50.12. Once again, underlined references are not isolated pluses.

pair is secondary in M, suggesting that M has made inner connections in the passage more prominent.[86]

Regarding G, my conclusion that the variants in question go back to LXXV finds further support from the G plus in 34[41].2, καὶ συλλήμψεται αὐτὴν, which supplies the parallel lacking in M to 32[39].3, 28: ולכדה | καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν. I have collected these variants below (38[45].3 is the only other occurrence in Jeremiah of the inf. abs. construction involving נתן):

G	LXXV	M	
ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δίδωμι	הנני נתן את העיר...ולכדה	הנני נתן את העיר...ולכדה	32.3
παραδόσει παραδοθήσεται	הנתן ינתן (צדקיהו)	הנתן ינתן (צדקיהו)	32.4
δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται	הנתן תנתן העיר...ולכדה	הנני נתן את העיר...ולכדה	32.28
παραδόσει παραδοθήσεται	הנתן תנתן העיר...ולכדה	הנני נתן את העיר	34.2
παραδιδομένη παραδοθήσεται	הנתן תנתן העיר...ולכדה	הנתן תנתן העיר...ולכדה	38.3

The picture is somewhat equivocal. Excluding ch. 38[45], it looks as though M has harmonized twice by adding הנה, but in 34[41].2 it looks as though LXXV has harmonized by adding ולכדה (the following vocable is ושרפה, providing little opportunity for haplography in M).[87] It seems that both texts have harmonized in their own way, LXXV more conservatively by simple addition, and M by alteration.[88] Given the intentional nature of the M pluses as suggested by the evidence of הנה, a theory of mechanical error in v. 28 is unnecessary (Cornill [1905: 366] toys with the possibility that LXXV*הנתן ינתן, presumably as a result of an earlier wrong word division, so as to preserve את in LXXV and minimize the difference between the versions). The alteration of the verb to a ptc. was presumably done to harmonize with v. 3, but in any case הנה is not usually followed by an inf. abs.[89] And certainly הנני cannot be so

86. The third pair could well be native to M (§4.4.9), but this does not detract from the picture of balanced additions. In any case, it is just as likely that M incorporated הנה into LXXV *ואתה ראה.

87. Cf. Stipp's collection—including this verse—of glosses in LXXV (1994: 146-51).

88. Cf. §5.4.2, which provides another example of both M and LXXV making the same structural connection by means of a different addition.

89. The only exception is Num. 23.20, הנה ברך. But cf. Num. 23.11 where an

followed, so that the reduction from two verbal forms to one follows naturally.[90]

I conclude that הנה plays a major structuring role in M over against G. הנה pluses elsewhere may well perform similar functions (*pace* Soderlund 1985: 223-24).

5.6.3 *The King of Babylon Revisited*

ביד הכשדים וביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל | εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως βαβυλῶνος (v. 28). This fits well with the observations made of M in vv. 1-5, in that it is the first mention of the king in God's reply, and is commensurately fuller than those in vv. 29, 36, 43.[91] The problem is more complex than this, however, as M uses a distinctive combination for which a shorter equivalent in G is only partially to be expected. I shall thus comment on (1) the whole clause; (2) נבוכדראצר מלך בבל; (3) הכשדים.

(1) Below are collated all expressions in Jeremiah in which God gives 'X' (or 'X' is given) into the hand of (ביד) 'Y'. The 22 expressions have been divided into three groups, with elliptical or distant information supplied in parentheses (...), and G minuses placed in square brackets [...].[92] Variants in the V[erb] column are ignored (e.g. act. for pass., הנה unrepresented in G). In group A (examples a-n), element 'X' is either Zedekiah (c, k, l) or 'this city'. Formally, example h does not belong, as it replaces 'city' with 'land', but it is tightly bound to the previous six examples.[93] Group B (examples p-s) is perhaps a subset of the examples a-n, but in the place of Zedekiah we find other leaders, the whole people, or even the treasures of the kings.

inf. abs. construction is so used, and the inf. abs. is post-positive: והנה ברכת ברך (JM, §123l).

90. Migsch draws comparable conclusions (1981: 13, 1996: 343). As Waltke states (§35.2.2c), 'If the subject of the verbal action expressed by the infinitive absolute is stated, it is always an independent noun'. Min's assessment of הנתן as a G plus is thus accurate (1977: 132).

91. Stulman (1986: 142) and Bogaert (1995: 67) cite this plus as an example of M's increased interest in the king of Babylon.

92. Jer. 38.23 has been omitted, as it uses תפש rather than נתן. Cf. also 26.24; 38.16, 19, where someone other than God gives 'X' into the hand of 'Y'. G renders conventionally.

93. The references have been arranged to facilitate comparison, but word order is maintained—hence two columns each for the verb (V) and its object (or subject, if passive) (O/S). Any omitted words are indicated by an ellipsis, so that the examples can be read normally from right to left.

Group C (examples t-y) is distinguished by multiple (usually three) ביד phrases, most readily appreciated in the light of 44.30. Finally, there are three examples (z-bb) unrelated to Zedekiah.

	V		O/S	V	O/S	
Group A						
a.	תנתן	ביד מלך בבל			(ה)עיר הזאת...	21.10
b.		ביד מלך בבל	את העיר הזאת	הנני נתן		32.3
c.		ביד מלך בבל		הנתן ינתן	(צדקיהו)	32.4
d.		ביד הכשדים		נתנה	והעיר	32.24
e.		ביד הכשדים		נתנה	והעיר	32.25
f.		ביד [הכשדים] [ובידנ] מלך בבל	את העיר הזאת	הנני נתן		32.28
g.		ביד מלך בבל		נתנה	העיר הזאת...	32.36
h.		ביד הכשדים		נתנה	(ה)ארץ הזאת...	32.43
j.		ביד מלך בבל	את העיר הזאת	הנני נתן		34.2
k.	תנתן	ובידו (= מלך בבל)			(צדקיהו)	34.3
l.	תנתן	ביד מלך בבל			(צדקיהו)	37.17
m.		ביד חיל מלך בבל	העיר הזאת	הנתן תנתן		38.3
n.		ביד הכשדים	העיר הזאת	ונתנה		38.18
Group B						
p.		ביד מלך בבל		אתן	ואת כל יהודה	20.4
q.		ביד איביהם		אתן	ואת כל אוצרות מלכי יהודה	20.5
r.		ביד [נבוכדראצר] מלך בבל	אתם	הנני נתן	(false prophets)	29.21
s.		ביד הכשדים	אתנו	למען תת	(Johanan *et al.*)	43.3
Group C						
t.		ביד איביו וביד מבקשי נפשו	את פרעה...	הנני נתן		44.30a
		ביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל איבו ומבקש נפשו	את צדקיהו...	נתתי	כאשר	44.30b
u.		ביד [נבוכדראצר מלך בבל] [וביד] איביהם [וביד] מבקשי נפשם	את צדקיהו...	אתן		21.7
w.		ביד מבקשי נפשך [וביד] אשר אתה יגור מפניהם [וביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל] וביד הכשדים		ונתתיך	(Coniah)	22.25
x.		[ביד] איביהם [וביד מבקשי נפשם]	אותם	ונתתי	(people of Judah)	34.20

	V	O/S	V	O/S	
y.		ביד איביהם [וביד מבקשי נפשם] [וביד] חיל מלך בבל	אתן	ואת צדקיהו...	34.21
Ungrouped					
z.			נתתי את [כל] הארצות [האלה ביד] נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל	[ועתה אנכי]	27.6
aa.		ביד האנשים	ולא תנתן	(Ebed-melech)	39.17
bb.		ביד עם צפון	נתנה	בת מצרים	46.24

The first noteworthy observation is that variant readings are confined mostly to group C, where only example t is free of them. They appear to be recensional additions that explain who the 'enemies' are in terms of 44.30. In example z, the absence of ביד is but one minus of many that characterize the whole passage, so that the variant is of a different character from the other examples.[94] The only other variants are in examples f and r, and the latter of these is uncomplicated (see [2] below). This leaves 32.28 as the only significant variant outside group C, and the only variant at all in group A. It is also the only variant in any group involving הכשדים.

Note that 7 out of 13 references in group A are from Jeremiah 32, making the immediate context very significant for the analysis of 32.38.

(2) Examples f, r, u and w contain pluses involving part or all of the name נבוכדראצר מלך בבל (= NKB). The name Nebuchadrezzar(-nezzar) is used 35 times in M, always in the full phrase NKB, but just 14 times in G. The following table lists the occurrences, with their equivalents in G opposite each M reference:[95]

21.2	KB	27.8	KB	32.28	KB	43.10	NKB	50.17	KB
21.7	>	27.20	KB	34.1	NKB	44.30	NKB	51.34	NKB
22.25	>	28.3	>	35.11	N	46.2	NKB	52.4	NKB
24.1	NKB	29.1	>	37.1	N	46.13	NKB	52.12	>
25.1	>	29.3	KB	39.1	NKB	46.26	om.	52.28	om.
25.9	>	29.21	KB	39.5	om.	49.28	NKB	52.29	om.
27.6	NKB	32.1	NKB	39.11	om.	49.30	KB	52.30	om.

Eight times we find NKB in M where G has only KB, so that example r is not surprising. The additional omission in example f of ביד, however, is not so simple to account for.

94. Goldman (1992: 133) argues at length for the secondary nature of M; van der Kooij (1994: 64) holds that G has abbreviated by assimilating vv. 5 and 6.

95. > = an omission of the phrase; om. = an omission of the verse.

(3) The plus הכשדים is very rare, being represented in G 40 out of 45 times. Two G minuses are in omitted verses, and 32[39].5 contains a probable haplography, leaving 32[39].28 and 25.12. The latter verse comes at the dividing of the ways for the oracles against the nations; the M variant may be a unique feature for a unique recensional seam. But there is no such reason to expect secondary addition or omission in 32[39].28.

Summing up, the M plus נבוכדראצר is typical, but the absence from G of הכשדים וביד is problematic, and suggests haplography. The damage goes back to LXXV, as the translation of v. 29 makes clear (see §5.5.2): ביד הכשדים וביד. Migsch's objection that the following ולכדה has an implied singular subject, thus limiting the antecedent to the singular מלך בבל, is unconvincing (1996: 344); there is no reason why the king of Babylon alone cannot be the referent of the next verb, as he is for its other appearances. After all, the army is simply his agent.

Chapter Six

JEREMIAH 32.36-44

6.1 *Variants for Discussion*

v.	M	G	§
36	לכן	>	6.4.1
	אל העיר	ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν	6.2.1
	הזאת	>	6.4.2
	אתם אמרים	ὑμεῖς λέγετε (Zi. σὺ λέγεις)	6.3.1; 6.6.1.1
	נתנה	παραδοθήσεται	6.6.1.2
	ובדבר	καὶ ἐν ἀποστολῇ	6.5.1
37	הארצות	τῆς γῆς	6.5.2
39	לב אחד ודרך אחד	ὁδὸν ἑτέραν καὶ καρδίαν ἑτέραν	6.2.2
	לטוב	καὶ εἰς ἀγαθὸν	6.4.3
40	לא	ὀυ μὴ	6.5.3
	אשר לא אשוב מאחריהם	ἣν οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν	6.5.4
	להיטיבי אותם	>	6.4.4
41	וששתי עליהם	καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτοὺς	6.5.5
	באמת	ἐν πίστει	6.5.6
	בכל לבי ובכל נפשי	καὶ ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ	6.4.5
42	אל העם	ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν	6.2.1
	הרעה...הטובה	τὰ κακὰ...τὰ ἀγαθά	6.5.7
	אנכי מביא...אשר אנכי דבר	ἐγὼ ἐπάξω...ἃ ἐλάλησα	6.5.8
43	ונקנה השדה	καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἀγροὶ	6.2.4; 6.6.1.3
	הזאת	>	6.4.2
	אתם אמרים	σὺ λέγεις	6.6.1.1
	נתנה	καὶ παρεδόθησαν	6.6.1.4
44	שדות בכסף יקנו	καὶ κτήσονται ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀργυρίῳ	6.6.1.5

וכתוב בספר החתום והעד	καὶ γράψεις...καὶ διαμαρτυρῇ	6.6.1.6
ובסביבי	καὶ κύκλῳ	6.5.9
נאם יהוה	>	6.4.6

6.2 *Comments on the Masoretic Text*

6.2.1

אל העיר (v. 36). Tg: על קרתא, Pesh: ܥܠ ܩܪܝܬܐ, Vg: *ad civitatem*, G: ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.

אל העם (v. 42). Tg: על עמא, Pesh: ܥܠ ܥܡܐ, Vg: *super populum*, G: ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν.

In principle, אל and על are easily confused.[1] Both prepositions are correct, and can be used interchangeably after verbs of saying.[2] It follows from this that the *Vorlage* of ἐπὶ cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. ἐπὶ renders a range of terms—in Jeremiah 30–31, for example, מן,[3] ב,[4] ל,[5] and אל[6]—so that Workman's policy (1889) of retroversion to על irrespective of M's reading is wrong-headed. At first glance Tg Pesh seem to throw their weight behind an original אל in the M tradition, and Migsch (1996: 61) follows Tg in both cases. Yet the evidence of these versions is of no value whatsoever in this case, since neither language uses the preposition *'el*. In Aramaic אל fell out of use, so that עַל came to cover Hebrew אֶל, which only occurs occasionally in Aramaic (*HALAT*; Rosenthal §§76, 79, 82).[7] Likewise, ܥܠ means, *inter alia*, 'towards' and 'concerning'. It is arguably this situation that led to the interchangeableness of אל and על later in the OT tradition.

Migsch prefers על in v. 42 on account of both the meaning of the verb and the use of על in the next clause with the same verb. Yet אל

1. Interchange is frequent in Hebrew MSS, e.g. MT Isaiah and 1QIsa[a] (Kutscher 1974: 408-10).

2. אל can follow אמר with several senses, including 'about' or 'concerning', as here and in Jer. 22.11, 18; 27.19; 29.16, etc. (Clines, I, 268). In 27.19 it is used in parallel with a threefold על, with only Eb 22 correcting אל to על. Cf. Stipp (1997: 187 n. 12): 'The interchange of אל/על is current in Jer.'

3. 30[37].21.

4. 30[37].24; 31[38].7.

5. 31[38].20.

6. 30[37].2, 4; 31[38].9, 12.

7. על is used in Daniel with the meaning 'towards' (2.24; 4.31; 6.7, etc.) or 'concerning' (2.18; 5.14, 29, etc.). Cf. Ezra 4.8, 'they wrote a letter concerning [על] Jerusalem to [ל] Artaxerxes'.

with בוא hi. is quite acceptable, being attested in the sense of 'bring against'.[8] Next, the verse continues, אנכי מביא עליהם...אנכי דבר עליהם. Presumably, since Migsch holds M to be harmonistic, he considers אל a careless alteration. It is more likely, however, that the versions have harmonized, with Vg in particular showing the attractive power of עליהם in v. 42. Compare 31[38].12, where ונהרו governs a series of prepositional phrases, the first using אל and the rest על. G has ἐπὶ every time, in a clear case of 'tidying up'. Note that Tg Pesh, too, are uniform.[9] The variety in M is stylish, as the first phrase describes the general category of which the remainder are specific examples. Stylistic considerations may well be at work in 32.42, where אל points back to the parallel v. 36. Thus, given the use of אל in v. 36, אל in v. 42 is understandable.

This brings us to אל in v. 36. Migsch's reasoning is rather cryptic,[10] but given that אל may follow אמר in this context (see n. 2), one assumes he is alluding to v. 29 על העיר הזאת, as if to say that this is the preposition we expect with עיר. Yet this is not the case, as 19.15 shows. Indeed, this verse addresses the other issues at hand as well, as M has אל...על...על where G uses ἐπὶ throughout.[11]

In brief, the variation of preposition in M is both frequently attested and rhetorically effective, and the consistency of preposition in the versions is text-critically suspicious, so that M should be retained despite the theoretical possibility of a confusion of אֶל for an original עַל.

6.2.2

לב אחד ודרך אחד (v. 39). Tg Vg = M, Pesh: ܠܒܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܚܕܬܐ, G: ὁδὸν ἑτέραν καὶ καρδίαν ἑτέραν, La reflects אַחֵר (so *BHK*). G probably reflects the word order of LXXV (as it did in v. 1: §3.5.1). There are three relevant parallels in Ezekiel, which are here presented with versions literally retroverted:

8. Clines (I, 268): '*bring* evil 2 S 17_{14} 1 K 14_{10} 21_{21} 2 K 22_{16} (‖ עַל; ‖ 2 C 34_{24} עַל both times; 2 K 22_{20} עַל for אֶל) etc.'

9. Tg ב...ב, Pesh ܥܠ...ܥܠ, Vg *ad...super*.

10. 'Ich nehme wegen des Satzinhalts die Tg-Lesart...auf' (1996: 61).

11. On the double translation in G, see McKane (1986: 447). ἐπὶ is used both times, so that identifying the 'original' phrase is unnecessary for our purposes. Cf. 39[46].16: הנני מבי[א] את דברי אל העיר הזאת לרעה | ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ φέρω τοὺς λόγους μου ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς κακά.

Jer. 32.39		ודרך אחד	לב אחד	ונתתי להם	M	(= Tg)
		ולב אחר	דרך אחר	ונתתי להם		= LXXV
		ורוח חדשה	לב חדש	ונתתי להם		= Pesh
Ezek. 11.19	אתן	ורוח חדשה	לב אחד	ונתתי להם	MT	(= Tg)
	אתן	ורוח חדשה	לב אחר	ונתתי להם		= Septuagint
	אתן	ורוח חדשה	לב חדש	ונתתי להם		= Pesh
Ezek. 18.31		ורוח חדשה	לב חדש	ועשו לכם	MT	(= Sept., Pesh)
Ezek. 36.26	אתן	ורוח חדשה	לב חדש	ונתתי להם	MT	(= Sept., Pesh)

Pesh seems clearly to have assimilated across all four verses.[12] Tg reads לב דחול ורוח דחלא throughout Ezekiel, making it of little value for this discussion. In Ezek. 11.19 MT is more difficult than Septuagint, as 'another heart' fits better with the contrast of stone and flesh. Yet it is a meaningful reading, and its difficulty thus makes it more likely to be original.[13]

Relating this to Jeremiah is not easy, as the relationship between the transposition and the ד/ר variant is obscure. Regarding the transposition, literary arguments can be mounted for both sequences. The provision of a heart is logically prior to the ability to follow God's way (cf. Prov. 16.9), but this logical order need not dictate the sentence order: 'I will give them one way, and a heart to match it' is an effective statement. Similarly, the expression אתן בלבבם לבלתי סור (v. 40) could equally be in direct or inverted parallelism with v. 39.[14]

Textually speaking, the unconventional word order of LXXV looks more original, though whether M harmonized to Ezekiel (so Migsch), or transposed for reasons of its own (literary or theological) and subsequently became the template for Ezekiel, is an open question.

The same reasoning does not apply to the אחד/אחר variant, however: assimilation to Ezekiel is equally possible in M or LXXV. This precludes the argument that M, being secondary in word order, must be secondary in lexeme.[15] Further, in both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the

12. Holladay suggests that Pesh may have confused ܚܕܬܐ and ܚܕ (= M), but for this error to occur in both Jer. 32 and Ezek. 11 would be somewhat coincidental; moreover, the other Ezekiel texts make it unnecessary. More likely is a phenomenon similar to that observed in Tg, of 'standard' or 'parallel' translations, which can occur 'even where the Hebrew is perfectly translatable' (Gordon 1975: 51).

13. *Pace* Condamin (1920: 243-44).

14. So Schmid (1996: 101 n. 230), though he draws no text-critical conclusions.

15. From a literary point of view, the originality of אחר is less evident than in Ezek. 11.19, since Jer. 32.39 lacks the contrast between 'stone' and 'flesh' that could make אחר so attractive to a correction-minded scribe or translator. M

graphic similarity of ד/ר makes it hard to say that LXXV ≠ M, and it would be easy for a translator to 'read' אחר (a more obvious reading) when he came to אחד.[16]

Therefore, though most exegetes state or imply that LXXV = *אחר by assimilation to Ezek. 11.19 (Septuagint),[17] I judge it more likely that LXXV = *ונתתי להם דרך אחד ולב אחר (cf. Stulman 1985: 82-83), and that the translator read אחר.[18]

6.2.3

כי כה (v. 42). Tg: כדנן v] pr. ארי z l b g o f c,[19] Pesh also omits. Against Sperber, Hayward represents ארי in his translation (p. 138 n. *mm*). The form in M is prone to haplography, and should be accepted as original. If we accept Hayward's judgment, then there are no grounds for detecting here another case of dependence of Pesh on Tg (McKane 1986: xxxiv).

6.2.4

ונקנה השדה (v. 43). Tg: ויזדבנון חקלין, Pesh: ܘܢܬܩܢܘܢ ܚ̈ܩܠܬܐ, Vg: *et possidebuntur agri,* G: καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἀγροὶ. We can exclude from the outset that the Tg *Vorlage* was pl., which would imply an intentional alteration in the M tradition to the more difficult sg. at an extremely late date. We thus have a pl. rendition of a sg. *Vorlage,* either because Tg has taken השדה as a collective noun,[20] or because it is assimilating to v. 44.[21]

nevertheless looks better: G is more comprehensible, and M more characteristic (so Volz 1920: 244).

16. Note Tov's discussion of 'pseudo-variants': 'a translator who could make no sense of a word when written, let us say, with a *daleth*, would probably have been strongly tempted to render it as if it were written with a *resh*' (1997: 164). In our verse, it is a case of 'less sense' rather than 'no sense', suggesting that the process may have been unconscious on the part of the translator. Given this graphic similarity, Edlin's suggestion, that אחר arose by influence from אחריהם (v. 39), is unnecessary (1985: 44).

17. Giesebrecht 1894: 181; Duhm 1901: 270; Bright 1965: 295; Rudolph 1967: 212, etc.

18. Note that Tg has probably facilitated in similar fashion at 15.14 (Ribera 1994: 220-22).

19. MS abbreviations after Sperber.

20. So Sperber (1973: 63), who has collected eight other such readings from Tg Jeremiah. This is the only reading involving a definite noun; others involve the

The more open question is that of the article in M, which *BHK* implies is the result of dittography. This is the only case of which I am aware in which an articular sg. noun is rendered pl. in Tg, but once the translator had committed himself to a pl. rendition here, it would be natural to drop the article as part of the generalizing process. Migsch's argument (1996: 62) that השדה cannot strictly be taken as an indefinite collective noun is hardly apposite, given Tg's interest in what Hayward calls 'the language of precision' (p. 24). 'The field' could well have been understood by the translator as figurative, and so was spelled out more plainly (cf. Tg 1.11; 4.7; 11.17; 22.7; 51.26). Moreover, 'fields' offers an idea more appropriable by the readership (or 'hearership'), which fits with Tg's modernizing tendencies (Hayward, 24).

Pesh Vg could be dependent on G or Tg; for a discussion of the Greek, see §6.6.1.3. I conclude that there is no reason to alter M.

6.3 *Comments on the Septuagint*

6.3.1

σὺ λέγεις] υμεις λεγετε $L^{\prime-449}$ Syh^{mg}; + οτι *L*-449 Arm; + οτι ου 22^{c}-62-407 (v. 36).

On external grounds alone, there is no reason to challenge Ziegler's choice. Yet a careful consideration of the context of the verse in both G and M leads me to adopt the Lucianic reading against most MSS. A discussion of the relevant issues is delayed until §§6.6.1.1 and 6.6.4. It is worth noting that this choice has not only abandoned the B group reading, but has brought the text closer to M in doing so, a result that might well occasion suspicion, but which cannot automatically disqualify the reading.

collective use of anarthrous substantives that also have sg. meaning (GKC, §123b), and only 35.9 involves inanimates (including a field):

וכרמין וחקלין וזרעין לא יהון לנא | וכרם ושדה וזרע לא יהיה לנו

(Cod. Reuchlinianus reads וזרעא).

Note that in this verse G is sg. In all other cases of 'field', M and Tg are matched in number (Sepmeijer, II, 34-35).

21. So Migsch 1996: 236.

6.3.2
ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ ἐν θυμῷ μου καὶ ἐν παροξυσμῷ μεγάλῳ | ἐν2° Cypr.] > B-S A-106′; θυμῷ V *O* *C*′] pr. τω rel.; ἐν3° Syh *C*′-613 534 verss. Cypr.] > rel. (v. 37).

In an earlier discussion (§5.3.3) I tentatively accepted Ziegler's removal of τῷ before θυμῷ. My discussion of v. 24 (§4.3.1) is also relevant, showing the propensity of G to omit the article when rendering a string of words joined by ב. In this section I argue against the retention of ἐν 2° and 3°, to which end the following readings are relevant:

a.	10.4	במסמרות ובמקבות | ἐν σφύραις καὶ ἥλοις
b.	10.24	באפך | ἐν θυμῷ
c.	15.14	באפי | ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου
d.	17.25	ברכב ובסוסים | ἐφ᾽ ἅρμασιν καὶ ἵπποις
e.	21.5	ובאף ובחמה ובקצף | μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς μεγαλῆς[22]
f.	22.4	ברכב ובסוסים | ἐφ᾽ ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων
g.	32[39].31	על אפי ועל חמתי | ἐπὶ ὀργήν μου καὶ ἐπὶ θυμόν μου
h.	32[39].37	באפי ובחמתי ובקצף | ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ θυμῷ μου καὶ παροξυσμῷ[23]
j.	32[39].44	בארץ בנימן ובסביבי ירושלם ובערי יהודה | ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν καὶ κύκλῳ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν Ιουδα[24]
k.	33[40].5	באפי ובחמתי | ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ ἐν θυμῷ μου

A string of two or more nouns joined by 'ב...וב' occurs 46 times in Jeremiah, and G is far from consistent in its renderings. When the members of the string are combinations of cs. + abs., or noun + adj., the article is normally but not invariably absent.[25] When nouns in the string have pronominal suffixes, the article is present or absent in equal measure.[26] And there are at least five places where G supplies a preposition before the first term only (examples a, d, e, f, ?h, j).

This group of variants suggests that ἐν is sometimes omitted for

22. μεγάλης] και παροργισμου μεγαλου A Q-V, etc.

23. Ziegler's text emended.

24. Cf. 33[40].13, where an identical (though transposed) Hebrew text is rendered ἐν ταῖς κύκλῳ Ιερουσαλημ. For the dat., cf. 10.4: בכסף ובזהב | ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ.

25. In the common phrase בערי יהודה ובחצות ירושלם | ἐν πόλεσιν Ιουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν Ιερουσαλημ (7.17; 11.6; 33[40].10; 44[51].6, 9, 17, 21), the underlined references add ταῖς after ἐν (though Ziegler removes it from 44[51].21 with the support of *C*′). 7.17 has ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς for ἔξωθεν.

26. Present: 3.2; 23.32; 28[35].7; absent: 31[38].23; 33[41].5; 44[51].23.

stylistic purposes, even when it is included in a parallel text (example j). If one were to examine θυμός in isolation, it would be found that a Greek preposition is used to render a Hebrew preposition in at least five cases (examples b, c, e, g, k), suggesting its originality in example h. This is the sort of analysis Ziegler applies to his collations in his essay on the article (1958: esp. 136-41). But it seems intrinsically likely that stylistic considerations would dominate over systematic ones when lists such as these are in view, so although I follow Ziegler—tentatively—in his omission of τῷ before θυμῷ, I accept only ἐν 1° into the text of 32[39].37.[27]

By way of a small digression, it is worth noting that we find אף | θυμός in examples b, c, e and חמה | θυμός in examples g, h, k. In these last verses we find אף | ὀργή, but חמה | ὀργή in example e. The order of the nouns is fixed in M, but reversed in G once. While this might look like M harmonization, the lack of consistency about other features of G (μετὰ in example e, free omissions of prep. in examples e and h) suggests that it is not concerned with stereotyped rendering of this expression. More probably, this is a difference between Jeremiah α' and β' (not mentioned by Thackeray 1903 or Tov 1976).

6.3.3

εἰς βιβλίον] εν βιβλιω *L´ C´*-239 Arm Chr. Tht. α´ σ´ 86; om. εἰς B-S A-106´ Bo Aeth (v. 44).

Ziegler argues that B-S A pass on a haplography: γράψεις εἰς (p. 65). However, he gives the contradictory opinion on p. 63 that Q-V have added εἰς from M, and in favour of this is the fact that Q-V regularly bring their text closer to M. Migsch (1996: 53 n. 3) adopts the B-S A reading, against Ziegler's final choice. Their reasoning is curiously similar: Ziegler prefers εἰς βιβλίον because v. 10 shows it to be original,

27. Ziegler (1958: 138-43), in his discussion of <prep. + noun + suffix>, argues that the article was originally absent, but often added secondarily (though he admits of exceptions where it was originally present). His approach is word-, not clause-centered. The word-centered approach seems to imagine the translator rendering vocable by vocable irrespective of context, whereas the latter approach assumes a phrase by phrase approach, with an associated awareness (by the translator) of parallel and oft-repeated expressions. Of course, Ziegler is well aware of broader contextual issues, as his treatment of 44[51].21 shows (see n. 25). This aspect of the translator's work demands consideration, since it affects the way we collate and assess inner-Greek variants.

where Migsch prefers βιβλίον because it corresponds to v. 25, and the absence of ב is judged an innovation of LXXV in both places. I accept Ziegler's judgment here.

6.4 *Quantitative Variants*

6.4.1

לכן | > (v. 36). Pesh om. Only twice does עתה לכן occur in the OT; here, עתה alone is translated, and in Jer. 42.15 לכן alone is rendered (διὰ τοῦτο). Though the collocation could have been considered too cumbersome by the translators, a more likely reason for omission in LXXV or G is that the repeated לכן is quite disconcerting, introducing as it does material that seems anything but the logical outcome of what preceded it. Yet M is not without precedent, and similarly counter-intuitive uses of לכן can be found in 16.14; 30[38].16.[28] This suggests that M is not meaningless (*pace* Giesebrecht 1894: 181), and could be original. Yet G represents לכן in 16.14; 30[38].16,[29] as well as in all 25 other occurrences of לכן כה אמר יהוה found in that version, so that לכן should be judged secondary in v. 36.

Migsch (1996: 344-46) points out that a similar verse, Jer. 23.2,[30] lacks an equivalent for אלהי ישראל in G, and suggests that 23.2 and 32.36 have been harmonized to each other in M. It is more likely, however, that לכן in 32.36 was added to balance the other occurrence of לכן in the chapter (v. 28), a function effected in G by the phrase ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ (a plus in v. 28).[31]

28. It follows from this that those commentators may be wrong who read לכן as meaning, in strictly logical fashion, that 'the facts of vv. 28-35 are the cause of v. 36' (Brueggemann 1991: 87), but that it may, rather, be indicating a fundamental continuity between divine judgment and salvation in the same way that vv. 16-44 as a whole intend. As Brueggemann goes on to say (p. 87), 'Verse 36 functions to tie the two impossibilities together'. Cf. Becking (1998: 20-21) on לכן in 30:16.

29. In the light of 30.16, Hitzig (1866: 265) concludes that G has wrongly omitted לכן in 32.36. But the fact that M is capable of using לכן counter-intuitively can be used to prove the originality of the reading no more than its difficulty to interpret proves its secondary nature.

30. לכן כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל + prep. (על/אל) is attested only in these two verses.

31. The longer divine title in 23.2 is an extremely common feature that needs no theory of harmonization to explain it; Migsch's argument depends on a close relationship existing between 23.2-3 and 32.36-37 as a whole, but his connection of the

6.4.2

הזאת | > (vv. 36, 43). Conclusions from 33[40].10, במקום הזה אשר אתם אמרים | ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ᾧ ὑμεῖς λέγετε, should be drawn but warily. המקום הזה is always fully rendered in G (25 times), whereas the non-representation in G of הזאת after העיר (26[33].6; 38[45].4) and הארץ (25.11) is encountered, in all, five out of 61 times.[32] The explanation for these pluses should thus be sought within ch. 32, and not be bound up with the variant אתם | σὺ (vv. 36, 43; cf. 33.10).

A belief that M has added the pronoun mechanically from parallels (cf. Janzen 1973: 49) undervalues the resultant literary cohesion. Like לכן, הזאת in v. 36 seems to be an addition geared to binding vv. 28 and 36 closer together, and הזאת in v. 43 could serve the same function for v. 41.[33] On the other hand, Migsch (1996: 302 n. 58) considers LXXV to have deleted both occurrences in order to heighten the similarity to vv. 24-25. Arguments at this level, being literary in nature, must remain speculative.[34]

6.4.3

לטוב | καὶ εἰς ἀγαθὸν (v. 39). Tg: דייטב, 'that it may be well' (יטב rather than טוב), Pesh: ܘܢܛܐܒ (ܛܐܒ pe. impf. 3.sg., by the pointing in Walton), Vg: *et bene sit eis*. The Hebrew syntax is difficult to render in other languages, and all versions have provided some contextual exegesis. Pesh looks dependent again, in the verb (but not from Tg?) as well as the conjunction (G Vg). טוב (inf. cs.) with this sense is only

variants in 23.2/32.36 with the variant common to 23.3 and 32.37 is unconvincing.

32. In 25.11, כל הארץ הזאת | πᾶσα ἡ γῆ balances 25.9, הארץ הזאת | τὴν γῆν ταύτην, in M but not G; each verse in M (but neither in G) also modifies 'nations' by 'these'. In 26[33].6, הבית הזה | τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον is balanced (in M only) by העיר הזאת | τὴν πόλιν (Brenton's translation inserts *this* in italics). In 38[45].4, העיר הזאת | τῇ πόλει repeats in M (but not G) the identical phrase from vv. 2-3. Note also that in v. 4, האיש הזה occurs twice, and is rendered first by ἐκεῖνος, then by οὗτος. This suggests that G has some stylistic concerns, which may also be at work in the omission of the third הזאת.

33. Note the progression from vv. 28+29+31+36 ('this city') to vv. 41+42+43 ('this land'), with the last verse in each group reframing the motif: just as v. 36—the first M plus—prepares 'this city' for its first good news of the chapter, so v. 43—the second M plus—defines the reversal of the 'great evil' (cf. v. 23) in terms of prosperity in 'this land'.

34. Literary-historical discussions like that of Marx (1980: 111) have even less bearing on the textual problem.

used here and Deut. 6.24 (whose Greek translation, ἵνα εὖ ᾖ, is the rendition of *L′σ′* in our verse). But since the inf. cs. and adj. are identical for טוב, we cannot take exception to G here. Pesh uses a verbal form, Vg supplies a verb to the adverbial rendition; indeed, neither of them looks dependent on G, suggesting that their addition of the conjunction may have been independent as well.

The G plus καὶ is the sort of 'variant/non-variant' (Tov 1997: 154-58) whose character is impossible to judge. It could be a stylistic addition (as is probably the case in v. 32) or else original to LXXV. It is common for the second[35] of a pair of parallel noun clauses to begin with a conjunction (e.g. vv. 18, עשה...ומשלם, 28, ביד...וביד, 31, למן...ועד), though by no means the rule, and the only other comparable pair of clauses in this section—שממה היא...נתנה (v. 43)—is also asyndetic in M but not G.[36] One might thus be inclined to see καὶ as an exegetical addition here, but v. 43 is complicated by an aspectual variant in G, and close parallels to this example are both rare in Jeremiah and faithfully rendered (e.g. without a conjunction: 18.20; 37[44].12; with a conjunction: 44[51].25). However, the unusually high number of καὶ pluses in this section (vv. 39, 41, 43, 44) suggests that after the substantial smoothing of the translation in v. 32 additions of the conjunction came with greater freedom.[37]

6.4.4

להיטיבי אותם | > (v. 40). There is a strong case for haplography in LXXV: מאחריהם להיטיבי אותם. The principal argument for this is G's rendition of the verse to this point, which fits an exemplar lacking this phrase (see §6.5.4). On the literary level, M reads very well as it stands, with the focus of each subordinate clause in v. 40a (אשוב, להיטיבי) picked up in the successive noun clauses of v. 40b (סור) and 41a (להטיב).[38] The beginning of the clause links closely with what

35. And sometimes the first as well, as in v. 33.

36. The second clause is not a noun clause, but a *qatal*-initial foreground construction termed the 'report form' by Niccacci (§§22-23). It is nonetheless subordinate within the context by virtue of the preceding אשר.

37. The few exegetes who comment on this are agreed that καὶ is a facilitation by the translator (Hitzig 1866: 266; Min 1977: ch. 2 n. 23; Migsch 1996: 70).

38. Verses 37-44 have been subjected to much analysis, highlighting the carefully structured nature of M. Recent examples include Edlin (1985: 107-109); Janzen (1987: 288-91); Unterman (1987: 113-15); Scalise (Keown, Scalise and Smothers 1995: 159-61); Brueggemann (1996: 27-28); Schmid (1996: 101 n. 230).

precedes.[39] It could be that M expanded from v. 41 (Duhm 1901: 270), but the passage is full of repetition, all of which, except this clause, is represented in G. An isolated extra repetition, then, seems less credible than an accidental omission. By the same token, an intentional omission is unlikely, since it eliminates but a small fraction of the repetitiveness of the passage (cf. Stipp 1994: 83).

6.4.5

בכל לבי ובכל נפשי | καὶ ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ (v. 41). It is not normal for G to omit μου: every other such suffix in Jeremiah 30–33 is rendered by it. Of ten other occurrences of נפשי, nine are rendered with μου (13.17 has σου). Of 13 other occurrences of לבבי/לבי, 11 are rendered with μου (8.18 uses ὑμῶν,[40] 20.9 omits).

This phrase is common from Deuteronomy,[41] in the Hebrew always with a second-person suffix (sg. or pl.), and always rendered ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας κτλ. in the Septuagint. In Joshua, Kings and Chronicles, it is also rendered ἐξ ὅλης or ἐν ὅλῃ, except for the account of Josiah's covenant in 2 Kgs 23.3, which is also the only occurrence without a second- or third-person suffix: בכל לב ובכל נפש | ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ. In Jeremiah, the phrase בכל לב- always takes a suffix, and is always rendered by ὅλος.[42] These curious parallels raise questions

I simply note here the backbone of *w=qatal* clauses (two are inverted), which are interrupted by noun clauses in vv. 39-41. These interruptions consist of a pair of clauses subordinate to ונתתי; a pair subordinate to וכרתי; and a final pair, each member of which is governed by its own main clause. The second member of each of these three pairs contains the verb יטב/טוב, combining repetition with variation for a nice effect: the result of the new heart is that things will be good for them; the result of the new covenant relationship is that God's doing of good will always benefit them; the result of God's delight is that he will do good to them. That is, there is a progressive shift in viewpoint from the people's experience to the shared action of good within a relationship to the self-contained and self-motivated action of God.

39. Cf. Hitzig (1866: 266), who comments similarly on its appropriateness; also Janzen (1987: 288-89). The text-critical problem is not solved simply by rejecting M as 'superfluous' (McKane 1996b: 850).

40. The whole verse is corrupt in G: see Streane (1896: 111-12).

41. Deut. 4.29; 6.5; 10.12; 13.4; 26.16; 30.2, 6, 10.

42. Jer. 3.10; 24.7; 29[36].13. The fact that in the full formula לב, rather than לבב, is only used in 2 Kgs 23.3 and Jer. 32.41, may be an indication of dependence

of influence that are difficult to answer. As Migsch points out (1996: 352), the use of πᾶς instead of ὅλος suggests that LXXV had no suffixes ('every heart' implying more than one person). And yet, while the context of 2 Kings 23 suits such a general rendition, God is plainly the subject in Jer. 32.41. I therefore suggest that G has assimilated to 2 Kings 23, perhaps with the Josianic covenant in mind, but more probably so as to remove the first-person suffix. After all, this is a formula of human response to the covenant, and it is unprecedented (and for the translator, unacceptable?) to find it on God's lips.[43]

In short: (1) probably, the connection in G to 2 Kings 23 existed in the translator's mind (assuming LXX 2 Kings was then extant), since the unusual use of πᾶς links the two places where it is found; (2) this connection is unlikely to have existed in LXXV. For if G rendered an odd expression faithfully with help from 2 Kings, it compounded its oddness in the doing; an exegetical rendition of a troubling statement is more likely (cf. Fischer 1997: 325).

The added καὶ makes the Greek more fluid, and is the same sort of feature as was observed in v. 32 (cf. Giesebrecht 1894: 182).

6.4.6

נאם יהוה | > (v. 44). This is most probably another structural addition by M.[44] Migsch alone considers that LXXV excised it (1996: 310), a conclusion needed to sustain his theory of secondary revision of LXXV.

in M, except that Jer. 3.10; 24.7 also use לב, the normal form of the word in Jeremiah (51 out of 59 times, i.e. 86 per cent of total use, compared with 69 per cent across the OT).

43. Zlotowitz (1981: 9), in order to avoid an anti-anthropopathic translator, must resort to the claim that the phrase 'was meant to be understood with preceding φυτεύσω', which is to be caught between the Scylla of amelioration and the Charybdis of paraphrase. He also ignores the fact that the context sets this verse apart from other uses of לב in Jeremiah (p. 56).

44. Stulman (1984: 19) says that M pluses that do not alter the text's meaning often come at the beginning or end of a passage and have a structuring role. Rendtorff's classification of נאם יהוה into six categories (1954) has been assessed by Parunak (1994: 508-509), who goes on to show that נאם יהוה is 'a mark of focus at the level of the phrase or clause' in all six categories (p. 512).

6.5 *Qualitative Variants*

6.5.1

ובדבר | καὶ ἐν ἀποστολῇ (v. 36).[45] This is a singular rendition in Jeremiah, though it has a parallel in Bar. 2.25: ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀποστολῇ. The two other occurrences of דֶּבֶר in Jeremiah β' are rendered θάνατος, suggesting the hand of the reviser.[46]

In its seven other biblical uses, ἀποστολή only translates words in the שלח group, in line with its basic sense of 'sending away'. Thus Stulman (1985: 82) tentatively retroverts to *ובשלחת. Michaelis (1793: 263) accepts that LXXV = M, and proposes that ἀποστολή here has the primary sense of 'a plague sent by God'.[47] He adduces the reading משלחת | ἀποστολή (Ps. 78[77].49) in support. This suggestion has found broad acceptance,[48] though it does not link ἀποστολή with דבר, and so requires a strange sort of exegesis by the translator if his *Vorlage* read דבר.

The problem would be much simpler if the verb דבר could mean 'drive away'. The translator would not need to confuse noun and verb, he could simply assume that the range of meanings is the same, so that θάνατος represents the sense 'extermination', and ἀποστολή represents the sense 'driving (sending) away'.[49] דבר certainly has a meaning something like this, but whether 'drive away' or 'destroy' is the proper definition is debatable. In reference to 2 Chron. 22.10 and the Akkadian cognate,[50] D.W. Thomas (1938: 392-93) suggests 'drive out, overthrow'. But G.R. Driver's etymology leads to the rendition 'violently entreated' (1926: 159).[51] Emerton (1988: 168-69) points out that דבר 'cannot mean "drove away" in this context [2 Chron. 22.10], as Athaliah

45. *BHK* adds the witness of Arab to G, but this is of slight text-critical significance, since Arab is a translation of G (Jellicoe 1993 [1968]: 267), though in occasional agreement with M, *O* and MS 410 (Ziegler, 38).

46. Jer. 34.7; 44.13. Tov (1976: 115) has erred here, though his general theory allows for some inconsistency in the work of Jeremiah β'.

47. 'Pestilentiam, quod ea a Deo immittatur et quasi amandetur.'

48. Schleusner (I, 324) takes it up; cf. Streane 1896: 224-25; Tov 1976: 115; Bogaert 1995: 62 n. 13.

49. In Aramaic the verb דבר is well attested with the sense 'lead, drive' (pa.), and is linked with the noun דְּבַר in Tg Ezek. 33.6.

50. *duppuru* Dt (*CAD*, III, 187-88).

51. Akkadian *dabru* ('fierce; mighty', according to *CAD*, III, 16).

killed the people concerned'. Emerton suggests 'subdue' as the basic meaning.

That the translator had דבר in his *Vorlage* seems a safe assumption, but did he understand it to mean 'subdue', and interpret 'subdue' as a reference to exile, or did he take it actually to mean 'drive away'? In favour of the former is the fact that this verse and Bar. 2.25 both lend themselves to 'exilic' readings, whereas the other two uses in Jeremiah β' do not. In favour of the latter is the Aramaic sense of דבר, though it would be dangerous to take this as proof of the etymology proposed by Thomas.

Recent dictionaries (LEH) hedge their bets, offering both 'exile' (LSJ Supplement), and 'plague sent by the Lord' (Michaelis). I prefer 'drive away, exile', as being less elliptical and as involving a type of exegetical rendering seen elsewhere (e.g. vv. 7-8).

6.5.2

הארצות | τῆς γῆς (v. 37). Tov (1979: 82) and others judge this a non-variant deviation, as shown by similar equivalences in Jeremiah. Recently, however, Migsch has argued that LXXV = *הארץ (1996: 346-48), thus necessitating a re-examination of the evidence.

The expression כל הארץ is used 16 times in Jeremiah, generally of Judah (though probably of Israel in 12.11). Jeremiah 50–51 breaks this pattern, using it of the whole earth (6 times). Every occurrence represented in G is translated πᾶσα ἡ γῆ (13 times in all). The pl. כל הארצות is used six times, and there is also one mismatch of number involving ארצות without כל:

People(s) concerned		M	G	
a.	Israel	מכל הארצות	ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν	16.15
b.	Judah and Israel (v. 6)	מכל הארצות	ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς	23.3
c.	Israel	מכל הארצות	ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν	23.8
d.	surrounding nations	את כל הארצות האלה	τὴν γῆν	27[34].6
e.	many kingdoms	אל ארצות רבות	ἐπὶ γῆς πολλῆς	28[35].8
f.	?	מכל הארצות	ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς	32[39].37
g.	scattered Jews	בכל הארצות	ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ	40[47].11

(1) In example e, the odd expression in G cannot be retroverted meaningfully to a Hebrew sg., which provides one firm case of γῆ sg. rendering ארצות pl.[52]

52. Cf. Katz 1949: 7; *pace* Migsch 1996: 347.

(2) Examples a, b, c, f belong together by their use of מכל. The main textual argument for a sg. in examples b and f (LXXV) is the supposed unlikelihood of the translator choosing the sg. γῆ for the pl. here, and the pl. χῶραι for the pl. in examples a and c (Migsch 1996: 347). However, examples a and c alone are preceded by מארץ צפון | ἀπὸ γῆς βορρᾶ (צפונה in 23.8), inviting a contrasting pl. for ארצות.

(3) Example d contains additional textual difficulties,[53] but they do not alter the issues involved in the sg./pl. question. From a purely textual standpoint, LXXV = pl. would seem much the likeliest probability in examples a-c, e, f and, by extension, the remainder as well. It would require a strong counter-argument to alter this presumption, though if example d were the only case it would be difficult to assess.[54]

(4) Examples b and c are in the same pericope in M, though in G vv. 7-8 follow v. 40. Wells (1984: 415, 419) suggests tentatively that LXXV 23.3 was sg., and that M may have pluralized it in anticipation of the insertion of 23.7-8, but this argument assumes that LXXV was sg. without proving it. Regarding examples b and f, the similarity of 23.2-3 and 32.36-37 leads Migsch to argue—in effect—that whatever LXXV read in one verse, it probably read in the other, and for the same reason.[55] This is sound as far as it goes; the rest of his argument turns on the meaning of γῆ.

(5) If πᾶσα ἡ γῆ means 'the whole land', it must be referring to Babylon, and LXXV was sg. If it means 'the whole earth', it must have the diaspora in mind, and LXXV = M.[56] Migsch prefers the sg. for the reason given in (2) above, and argues that the change to pl. in M from an original *הארץ (preserved in LXXV) was motivated by the desire to expand the scope of the promise beyond the *gola*. This brings examples b and f into line with examples a and c, which, following McKane (1986: 376, 565), are 'exegetical additions' to an oath originally referring only to the north land.

(6) Not only are Migsch's grounds for the decision that LXXV was sg. unconvincing (see (1)-(3) above), but his subsequent explanation is not

53. They are discussed by van der Kooij (1994: 62-63). He argues that the relationship to 27.3 produced by האלה in M makes it the primary text of 27.6, and that כל was present in LXXV and omitted by the translator.

54. See Schenker 1982: 501 n. 9; McKane 1989: 99; Stipp 1994: 54-55.

55. See the end of his treatment of 32.36 (1996: 346).

56. Rudolph (1967: 146) and McKane (1986: 558) adopt the latter position for 23.3. Stipp (1994: 55) calls the G rendition a rhetorical intensification.

needed to make sense of M. The fact that the northern kingdom is included in examples a-c provides a reason for the pl. in M without our having to postulate later alterations to accommodate the post-exilic diaspora.[57] Example g, though it could be referring only to recent refugees from Judah, could also have in mind exiles of longer standing from the northern tribes.

Exactly who is being gathered in example f is somewhat of a *crux interpretum,* since God's word addresses 'this city' in v. 36, but speaks of gathering an undefined 'them' in v. 37.[58] By rendering אל | ἐπὶ (v. 36) as 'concerning', this crux is ameliorated in the sense that 'them' can refer to the city (i.e. its inhabitants), so retaining a single subject throughout. But such a rendition only creates a deeper problem, by limiting the promise to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Not only do all the examples above spread their nets wider than this, but the city residents are perhaps the only Jews who have not yet, in fact, been scattered. A preferable solution is to render the preposition as 'to', and to accept a change of subject from 'this city' to Israel and Judah as a whole. The reason for advocating this reading is that such a shift has occurred twice already: the subject changes from העיר הזאת to בני ישראל ובני יהודה in both vv. 29-30 and 31-32.

In brief, the weight of textual evidence favours the judgment that LXXV = M, so that emendations of the text to sg. (cf. Holladay 1989: 206) are unjustified on two counts.

6.5.3

לא | οὐ μὴ (v. 40). As argued in §3.5.4, LXXV = M. This departure from quantitative literalism seems not to reflect the Hebrew syntax; presumably the stronger negative is inspired by the content of the verse.

6.5.4

אשר לא אשוב מאחריהם | ἣν οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν (v. 40). Eb 22: אָשִׁיב מאחריהם, Pesh: ܐܗܦܘܟ ܡܒܬܪܗܘܢ, Vg: *et non desinam eis (benefacere).* Tg adds 'יתוב מימרי' as a new subject.

57. It is interesting to note in this connection that the sg. כל הארץ in M is only ever used with the sense 'land' when describing Judah, and in verses about Babylon always has the sense 'earth'.

58. Hitzig (1866: 265), who takes המקום in v. 37 to refer to the city, considers that this is connection enough. Cf. Kilpp 1990: 84 n. 65.

Many exegetes assume LXXV = אשיב (hi.),[59] presumably since ἣν makes διαθήκη the object of ἀποστρέφω, thus giving the verb a transitive force. However, this is to approach the problem from the wrong direction: in Jeremiah, ἀποστρέφω renders שוב hi. 13 times, but שוב qal 30 times (HR), and the range of meaning of the verbs in both languages is very broad (cf. Holladay 1958: 47). In other words, the difficulty lies not with ἀποστρέψω, but ἣν, which relates the verb to what precedes in a different fashion from M.[60] As McKane observes (1996b: 850), אשר in conjunction with מאחריהם 'is obscure'; it is plain that most versions struggled with it. From a strictly textual point of view, then, there is every reason to think that LXXV = M. However, since so many textual critics object to M on exegetical grounds, I shall examine the issues briefly from that angle.

שוב is used with מאחרי 19 times, and at least 17 of these cases have the sense 'to turn back from following someone'. The idea of a human turning back from following one or more others occurs 8 times;[61] of Israel turning back from following God 9 times.[62] In Deut. 23.15; Jer. 32.40, God is the subject, and the constancy of the sense elsewhere makes it tempting to think of these cases in terms of God [not] turning back from following Israel.[63] If this is correct, then the subsequent

59. *BHK*; Blayney 1784: 219; Duhm 1901: 270; Migsch 1996: 71 (who suggests ו/י confusion), etc.

60. There is a mediating solution between M and G, i.e. to assume a transitive meaning for שוב qal, in which case אשר is rightly rendered ἣν. However, apart from the lack of clear-cut evidence for transitive qal outside the expression שוב שבות (Holladay 1958: 110-15), the use of שוב qal (intransitive) with מאחרי is well attested.

61. Of the pursuit of enemies, 1 Sam. 24.2; 2 Sam. 2.26, 30; 1 Kgs 22.33 = 2 Chron. 18.32; of Joab leaving Uriah to his fate, 2 Sam. 11.15; of Elisha bidding his family farewell, 1 Kgs 19.21; of Ruth's desire to follow Naomi, Ruth 1.16.

62. Num. 14.43; 32.15; Josh. 22.16, 18, 23, 29; 1 Sam. 15.11 (Saul, not Israel); 1 Kgs 9.6; Jer. 3.19.

63. Giesebrecht (1894: 182) finds the idea of God following the people abnormal, and suggests the emendation לֹא אֶשְׁבֹּת מֵרַחֲמָם, but later writers are mollified by the corroboration from Deuteronomy (Cornill 1905: 367; Levin 1985: 205 n. 26). Ehrlich, who is not (since Deut. 23.15 refers to the time when YHWH went at the head of his people in the desert), emends מאחריהם to ממנה ('...ist unbedingt מִמֶּנָּה zu lesen'), so making it refer to ברית (1968 [1912]: 326). Volz (1920: 244) thinks that a marginal note אחרי (cf. 50.21) became incorporated with an original מהם (cf. Pesh). Yet this is an entirely appropriate idea in the context of an oracle which ends with בכל לבי ובכל נפשי, used only here of God. This pericope is made radical

clause, להיטיבי אותם, takes on an important qualifying function, for although the sense is obviously positive from the context, it is so unusual for God to be the subject that some explication is needed. It clearly does not mean 'following after [to worship]' (Jer. 3.19), and since the only other comparable combinations of שוב + מן in Jeremiah concern God's anger turning away from his people (2.35; 4.8), the extra words in 32.40 are by no means redundant. It is significant that G, lacking these words, has arrived at a different translation.

The best way of understanding אשר would seem to be as an 'independent relative clause' rendered by '*of such a kind as* (*qualis*)'.[64] Putting this all together gives us a translation along the lines of 'an eternal covenant which involves me not turning back from following after them to do them good'. Vg has interpreted M this way, though it has *et* for אשר. The absence of the following להיטיבי אותם from LXXV allows the simple relative for אשר in G, which in turn makes 'covenant' the antecedent, not God. The result of this is that אשוב has been translated as if it were hiphil, a phenomenon well attested for שוב in the versions (Holladay 1958: 167-68). One must suspect that G was theologically motivated in its avoidance of the statement that God follows the people (Martin 1957: 298 n. 1).

6.5.5

ושׂשׂתי עליהם | καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτοὺς (v. 41). ἐπισκέψομαι appears 17 times in Jeremiah,[65] 16 of which translate פקד. As שׂושׂ occurs only once in Jeremiah, and 26 times in the OT, it is possible—though unlikely—that the word was unfamiliar, and that the translation was supplied from context (perhaps with the help of 29[36].10, which uses פקד | ἐπισκέψομαι in a similar context).

If LXXV = M, a free translation is more likely. HR suggests tentatively that LXXV = שׂושׂ; Gehman (1972: 198) is more confident, arguing that ἐπισκέπτομαι here means simply 'look upon, observe', and speculating that avoidance of 'anthropomorphism' [*sic*] was a factor.

precisely by its assertion that God will himself do what has hitherto been expected of the human covenant partner. Finally, note the use in v. 40 of סור מעלי rather than the normal סור מאחרי, avoiding a simple equation of God's actions and the people's.

64. Cited from GKC (§138e), who compares Exod. 14.13b.

65. 5.9, 29; 9.8, 24; 11.22; 13.21; 15.15; 23.2; 49[29].8; 27[34].8; 29[36].10, 32; 30[37].20; 32[39].41; 36[43].31; 44[51].13, 29.

It is quite possible that LXXV ≠ M, but commentators' suggestions are unconvincing. Neither *שקד (Hitzig 1866: 266), *שעה (Duhm 1901: 270), nor *שרד (Warner 1940: *83) is ever rendered by ἐπισκέπτομαι or a related word, and only the first appears in Jeremiah (1.12). Given the pattern of use for ἐπισκέπτομαι, *פקד seems the more obvious possibility (so Migsch 1996: 348-49).[66]

If LXXV = *פקד, can we say which reading came first? Outside Jeremiah, M has parallels in Deut. 28.63; 30.9. The latter is a verse of future promise, where the former is of present curse, but the former is a closer parallel. Either could arguably have inspired an alteration from *פקד to שוש in the M tradition, though simple additions are more usual. A more suggestive stimulus, however, is Jer. 32.5b. Whether or not this is an M plus, the alteration by M of *פקד to שוש in v. 41 would be readily understandable given the ominous tone lent the word by the clause in v. 5.

The final factor to consider is the lack of ἐπὶ in G. It is a moot point as to whether G is quantitatively literal here or not, since αὐτοὺς could be said to represent the whole vocable עליהם. Statistically, על after פקד is optional, though usual,[67] and when על is present, G usually translates it; ἐπὶ is omitted in 5 out of 19 cases.[68] שוש + על is always rendered with ἐπὶ, but since the construction occurs only 8 times in the OT, it would be hazardous to draw conclusions from this. That is to say, (a) there is no reason to believe that על was lacking from LXXV; (b) the lack of ἐπὶ in G does not directly prove that either שוש or פקד lay before the translator; (c) the statistics involving פקד do suggest, however, that the lack of ἐπὶ is a somewhat freer than usual rendition; (d) thus, a more indirect line of argument may be possible. If it could be shown that G

66. The fact that שקדתי and (especially) שעתי are graphically similar to ששתי is only significant if we are considering misreading or miscopying, in which case we are under no obligation to choose a word very close in meaning, and could not even exclude a word of opposite meaning such as שחת (Tov [1997: 153] mentions a ש/ח interchange reflected in Lucianic MSS of 2 Sam. 18.2). In this last case, the choice of ἐπισκέπτομαι would both reflect the Hebrew (in its negative meaning) and save the sense (by its positive meaning).

67. In Jeremiah, על governs פקד qal 21 out of 37 times. Among the exceptions are cases of פקד + independent pronoun (e.g. 27.22; 29.10; 32.5).

68. 13.21 (יפקד עליך | ἐπισκέπτωνταί σε); 23.34; 37.20. In 27.8, αὐτούς stands opposite על הגוי ההוא, but it is likely that על existed in LXXV, because of 25.12 (אפקד <u>על</u> מלך בבל <u>ועל</u> הגוי ההוא | ἐκδικήσω τὸ ἔθνος), where על is present twice, and could even have caused a haplography in LXXV.

tends to compensate for semantically free renditions by being more than usually quantitatively literal, שוש would look an unlikely *Vorlage* for G.

In short, we have a choice between a free rendition that avoids anthropopathism, or a revision by the M tradition in the light of parallels, probably in Jeremiah 32. I tend to the latter possibility.

6.5.6

באמת | ἐν πίστει (v. 41). Jerome (Migne 1845: 898) translates '*in veritate* (sive *in fide*)'. The ten occurrences of אמת represented in G are rendered by ἀλήθειᾳ/ἀληθινός in Jeremiah α' (six times),[69] and πίστις (thrice) or δίκαιος (once) in Jeremiah β',[70] making another addition to Tov's collection (1976).

6.5.7

הרעה...הטובה | τὰ κακὰ...τὰ ἀγαθὰ הטובה | τὰ ἀγαθά (v. 42); כל רעת | πάσας τὰς πονηρίας (v. 32, modifying 'sons of Israel'); כל הרעה הזאת | πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα (v. 23). רעה/רע is rendered by sg. forms (κακός, πονηρός) when it modifies a sg. noun[71] or stands alone as the object of a vb.[72] The more common pl. forms are used when רעה/רע is the subject or object of a vb. but modified in some way.[73] G is quite consistent in this, and the same rule applies for טוב | ἀγαθός.[74] Note that the only time ἀγαθός (sg.) is preceded by a prep., it is rendering the inf. טוב in 32[39].39.

6.5.8

אנכי מביא ... אשר אנכי דבר | ἐγὼ ἐπάξω...ἃ ἐλάλησα (v. 42). ἐλάλησα] pr. εγω Q-V-26-46-86′-130-613 *O*-233 *L*′$^{-36}$-538 Syp (vid.). אנכי/אני occurs 91 times in Jeremiah, and G is usually faithful in rendering it. Clauses or verses omitted account for nine or ten M pluses (including

69. 2.21; 4.2; 9.4; 14.13; 23.28; 26[33].15.

70. 28[35].9; 32[39].41; 33[40].6; 42[49].5: אמת ונאמן | δίκαιον καὶ πιστόν.

71. E.g. מדרכו הרעה | ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς (six times); cf. also 7.24; 16.12; 17.17-18, etc.

72. E.g. 32[39].30, עשים הרע | ποιοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν; also 7.30; 18.10; 23.10; 42[49].6; 49.23[30.12], etc.

73. E.g. by כל (32[39].32; 36[43].3, etc.), a preposition (26[33].3, etc., but cf. 7.6), זאת (8.3; 16.10; 32[39].23, 42; 40[47].2; 44[52].23).

74. Cf. 26[33].3; 36[43].3, where sg. πονηρᾶς and pl. κακῶν are used for הרעה in the same verse. Examples for ἀγαθός include 14.11, לטובה | εἰς ἀγαθά; 17.6, יבוא טוב | ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθά; 42[49].6, אם טוב ואם רע | ἐὰν ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐὰν κακόν.

1.1, 13; 29[36].11 and perhaps 27[34].6),[75] and the remainder fall into two main categories: (1) readings involving הנה, e.g. 26[33].14, ואני הנני | καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ;[76] (2) readings involving אני + ptc., namely 29[36].11 [2°]:[77] אנכי חשב | λογιοῦμαι; 32[39].42 [2°], 36[43].18: ואני כתב | καὶ ἔγραφον; 38[45].14: שאל אני | ἐρωτήσω.

For the four readings lacking ἐγὼ, there are 33 that include it, which is a level of inconsistency (12 per cent) consistent with studies of the literalism of Jeremiah.[78] That is, the frequency of omission of ἐγὼ is low enough to make translation technique, not *Vorlage*, the most probable cause, although inconsistency within a single verse, such as we find here, is unexpected. It may be linked to the inconsistency of verbal aspect that also marks the translation.[79] (In the other places where אני + ptc. constructions occur twice in a verse, G matches the aspect of each verb and so underscores the parallelism: e.g. 33.9; 45.4.) Perhaps the translator was playing down what is a very close parallel in M in order to fit the verse better to external events. What is certain is that ἐλάλησα is subordinated by the relative pronoun, by the shift to aor., and by the absence of the emphatic ἐγὼ, which suggests a sound literary reason for its omission.[80]

Ziegler links this reading with 34[41].5, אני דברתי | ἐλάλησα] pr. (※ *O*) εγω B-S-106-410 (tr. εγω ante λόγον)-130-239-538 *O* *C*´-613 Co Arab = M. This is a deceptive parallel, however, if indeed ἐγὼ in

75. See Tov 1979: 83. In addition, there are two free renditions that aim to clarify the sense of an idiomatic expression, resulting in one M plus (15.20, אתך אני | μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι), and one G plus (31[38].18, כעגל | ἐγὼ ὥσπερ μόσχος).

76. Also 40[47].10, and perhaps 1.18, ואני הנה | ἰδού, though the absence of καὶ complicates the issue.

77. Assuming with Streane (1896: 203) that LXXV suffered a haplography from אנכי 1° to אנכי 2°.

78. E.g. Tov 1985; Min 1977; see §5.3.3.

79. For a discussion of the translator's freedom with verbal aspect when rendering participles, see §3.6.2.2.

80. *Pace* Stulman 1985: 83, 90. Migsch (1996: 199) argues that אנכי דבר is set in the speaker's present (p. 305), and that LXXV replaced it by *דברתי to allow for the fact that vv. 37-41 must be understood as having been proclaimed before the fall of the city. This is because (p. 303) the second person *אתה אמרת in LXXV v. 36 sets the whole interchange in the period of vv. 24-25 (to which the sg. points), i.e. before the city's fall. This is a cumulative literary argument that provides secondary confirmation for the text-critical conclusions arrived at regarding a whole collection of variants. However, there is ample textual indication in the triple subordination and the pattern of translation that we are looking at the translator's handiwork.

32[39].42 is only optional because the verb is a ptc. Moreover, there is a solid G reading in 35[42].14, אנכי דברתי | ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, which makes Ziegler's decision to omit ἐγὼ in 34[41].5 open to question.

6.5.9

ובסביבי | καὶ κύκλῳ (v. 44). As argued in §6.3.2, G omits the preposition on stylistic grounds. LXXV = M.

6.6 *Variants of Special Interest: Disentangling Ancient Revisions*

The most interesting discrepancies between M and G in vv. 36-44 are those of person and number. Thrice, M pl. = G sg.;[81] four times, M sg. = G pl.[82] Indeed, apart from v. 14, every variant of person or number in the chapter falls within these verses. Further, there are four καὶ pluses in vv. 36-44.[83] These are all potential non-variant deviations, and, as such, elude the critic's efforts to pin them down. They could as easily be trivial as significant.

The majority fall within a group of variants in vv. 36-44 that stand together, both by their common character and by their similarity to parallels elsewhere in the chapter. In the following discussion they will be examined first separately and then together, seeking for patterns in the group that may offer clues as to the reason for the state of our texts today. This is an unavoidably literary enterprise, and so carries with it a commensurate degree of doubt. It proceeds from the additional assumptions that similar variants may have similar causes, and that more economical explanations have a better chance of being true. However, some similarities are purely factitious, and the truth can be inconveniently complicated.

The variants are as follows:

(a) אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις (v. 36aR);
(b) נתנה | παραδοθήσεται (v. 36b);
(c) ונקנה השדה | καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἀγροὶ (v. 43a);
(d) אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις (v. 43aR);
(e) נתנה | καὶ παρεδόθησαν (v. 43b);
(f) שדות בכסף יקנו | καὶ κτήσονται ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀργυρίῳ (v. 44a);
(g) וכתוב...וחתום והעד | καὶ γράψεις...καὶ σφραγιῇ καὶ διαμαρτυρῇ (v. 44b-d).

81. ארצות | γῆς and the examples below.
82. הרעה...הטובה | τὰ κακὰ...τὰ ἀγαθά and the examples below.
83. The only others are in vv. 12, 32.

The following assessment will proceed in four stages: first, some textual remarks, with retroversions where possible; secondly, an attempt to fit the readings into the context of vv. 36-44; thirdly, a comment on parallel passages; and finally, a reassessment of the textual variants in the light of the intervening discussion.

6.6.1 *Initial Textual Remarks*

6.6.1.1 (a) אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις] υμεις λεγετε *L*´-449 Syh^{mg}; + οτι *L*-449 Arm; + οτι ου 22^{c}-62-407 (v. 36aR); (d) אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις] + οτι *L*´ Arm Tht. (v. 43aR).

The testimony of *L*´ is noteworthy, especially the absence of a correction in v. 43aR, which at first sight might imply the presence of a sg. reading in some old M-strand traditions, which in turn might imply the existence of a genuine variant behind the sg. reading of G, such that LXXV = sg.[84] Such a course of reasoning would, however, be precipitate, for it assumes that the M tradition was open to continued influence by the LXXV tradition, a supposition for which there is little evidence. In addition, we have begged the question of whether a Lucianic variant reflects a Hebrew reading in the first place; the answer to this is by no means straightforward.

According to Ziegler (pp. 86-87), *L* in Jeremiah is much influenced by the 'Three', and, to a lesser extent, the Hexapla, though he has often improved their style and is not so tightly bound to M as *O*. Yet *L* is alone in these verses, unsupported by οι γ´ or *O*, and the same is true of the Lucianic variants in vv. 36b, 43a and 43b. By contrast, v. 44b-d shows a typical pattern of 'free dependence' on οι γ´. Ziegler maintains that such lack of support is often due to the fragmentary nature of witnesses to οι γ´, and that variants witnessed by *L* alone are often attested by οι γ´ in similar verses elsewhere (p. 86). When *L* definitely deviates from these sources, Ziegler considers him to be free ('frei gestaltet', p. 87).

Much more has been said of the independent Lucianic readings since 1957, and two basic conclusions are relevant here. First, as Ziegler was aware, 'it was existing Greek manuscripts which were used by Lucian, and we may presume also by Hesychius, neither in fact having had recourse in their respective recensions to the Hebrew text' (Jellicoe 1993 [1968]: 161). And second, *pace* Ziegler, the governing principles

84. Cf. Volz's rendition 'ihr...du', based on *L* (1920: 245).

behind Lucian's 'correction' of the Septuagint included 'an endeavour to seek out, and incorporate, what in the recensionist's judgement were the most ancient and best attested readings, for the conservation of which he has no hesitation in resorting to conflation' (Jellicoe 1993 [1968]: 168). Whether scholars are positive (Metzger 1963) or negative (Barthélemy 1963) towards the idea of a Lucianic 'text' as such, their general verdict is that important elements of the Septuagint are preserved by *L* alone.[85]

Returning to vv. 36aR, 43aR, we can summarize the possibilities as follows: (1) *L*′, dependent on οι γ′, has corrected v. 43aR according to its version of M; (2) *L*′ is a lone witness to the Old Greek of v. 43aR; (3) *L*′ is aberrant, so that (3a) M was pl. and LXXV sg. in both places from the start;[86] or (3b) LXXV = M in both verses, with the translator altering both to sg.[87]

Option (1) requires M to have undergone a late, harmonizing alteration (after the date of Aquila's exemplar, perhaps), and so seems less likely than option (2), which is attractive for the reason that it presents a *lectio difficilior* in the form of pl....sg. (i.e., pl. in v. 36aR, sg. in v. 43aR). M and G, by contrast, present balanced pairs.[88] The implication of this would be that LXXV (pl....sg.) is original, M has revised v. 43aR (pl....pl.), and an inner-Greek 'correction' harmonized v. 36aR to v. 43aR (sg....sg.). Presumably, M aimed to clarify the internal structure of vv. 36-44, while the Greek revision sought to tie both statements back to v. 25. The form of the genuine variant could be either *אתה אֹמֵר (so *BHK*), or *אתה אמרת (see §6.6.3).[89]

85. Barthélemy (1963: 127). In the absence of a reading from La (cf. Tov 1972b: 107), we cannot make any firm assessment of the value of *L*′ here; it must also be conceded that study of Lucianic readings has concentrated on the Former, not the Latter, Prophets, although the Lucianic recension 'has been identified in the prophetic books' (Trebolle Barrera 1998: 310).

86. So Migsch (1996: 301), who considers LXXV to have altered pl. to sg. in a late revision.

87. Stulman's conservative retroversion takes this line (1985: 83), as does McKane (1996b: 849), who sees G (i.e. the translator: p. 850) bringing these vv. into relation with vv. 24-25, and so creating an easier reading. Cf. v. 26, אל ירמיהו | πρός με.

88. Note also v. 43b, where *L* alone reads παραδοθήσονται, pl. like G v. 43b, but fut. like G v. 36b.

89. Warner's retroversion to *אתה תאמר (1940: *83) is unlikely in either place.

A further complicating factor is 33[40].10, במקום הזה אשר אתם אמרים | ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ᾧ ὑμεῖς λέγετε. M is consistent: should one infer harmonization by M in 32.36, 43—that is, option (3a), LXXV primary?[90] Jer. 33.10 builds on 32.43: should one infer that the author of 33.10 must have found a pl. in 32.43—that is, option (3a), M primary?[91] Both positions could be adapted to option (2). Without exception, scholars make their decisions on literary grounds, as the textual evidence permits no firm decision.[92]

6.6.1.2 (b) נתנה | παραδοθήσεται (v. 36b). It is virtually certain that LXXV = M here. LXXV = *תנתן is most unlikely, since 'Indicative Yiqtol is always a second position verb form as opposed to jussive [volitive] Yiqtol which usually occupies the first position in a sentence.'[93] By the standards of G, however, this is an anomalous translation of ni. pf., for in vv. 24, 25 (and perhaps v. 43b), G renders the same verb as aor. pass. This does not cast doubt upon my retroversion, since G is not infrequently free with verbal aspect; the most probable motive (in line with the translator's practice elsewhere) arises from the immediate sense: the city had not actually been handed over at the time. By contrast, we find the aor. παρεδόθησαν in v. 43b used to describe the land (fields), which was actually in Chaldean hands at the time. A more serious objection is that נתנה in vv. 24-25 comes in essentially the same statement as is made here—why then, does the translator tolerate it there? Most probably, the translator has 'corrected' the language of the prophet in vv. 36b, 43b out of deference to the fact that God is now the speaker, albeit citing human words. At any rate, there are not many forms LXXV could

90. Giesebrecht 1894: 181; Streane 1896: 224. Why, then, did M not harmonize the third reference to the first two? Bogaert (1995: 68) suggests that M was embarrassed by the apparent contradiction between God's words (the city will be inhabited) and his prophet's, and that 33.10 inspired a protective alteration from sg. to pl.

91. Thiel 1981: 34. If so, why the change in G/LXXV? Hitzig (1866: 265) points to v. 24 as the motive; similarly, Weippert (1973: 171 n. 286).

92. Cf. Cornill's discussion (1905: 367). More wide-ranging suggestions have been made by Rudolph (1967: 212), Carroll (1986: 628-29) and Holladay (1989: 205, 207).

93. Niccacci 1987: 19. Cf. DG, §63: (long) *yiqtol* 'resists the initial position in a clause or that immediately following *Vav*'.

take here; if the verb truly is in first position, the only other options are non-finite forms such as inf. abs. or ptc.[94]

6.6.1.3 (c) ונקנה השדה | καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἀγροὶ (v. 43a). Tg: ויזדבנון חקלין. Three issues require consideration: the article in M, the G plus and the pl. in all versions.

(1) I argued in §6.2.4 that the article is original to M, and that Tg *Vorlage* likewise = M.

(2) ἔτι always translates עוד in Jeremiah (44 times). There is only one other possible G plus, in 2.33,[95] as well as a group of M pluses: 31[38].20, 29, 39, 40. A mechanical omission in M seems unlikely, as does dittography in LXXV/G, leaving an intentional change, whether by M, LXXV or the translator. The statistics mentioned make the last possibility less likely.

(3) G is distinguished from the other versions by the plus ἔτι. Yet the pl. rendition in Tg of a sg. *Vorlage* reinforces the possibility that the pl. in G also reflects a sg. *Vorlage*. Indeed, several variant readings in Jeremiah 32 are common to G and Tg,[96] and there is a good chance that these reflect old exegetical traditions known to both versions.[97]

If LXXV was sg., did it have the article? Migsch (1996: 106-107) has argued that the indefinite sense conveyed by G ('[some] fields') cannot be derived from השדה, since the article, when it determines class in this way, denotes 'the sum total of individuals belonging to the class' (GKC, §126m). Migsch may have over-stated the position somewhat,[98]

94. Few, if any, have addressed this question. The untenable תנתן is adopted by Workman (1889: 350) and Migsch (1996: 262). Stulman (1985: 82) indicates no deviation from M in LXXV.

95. מה תטיבי | τί ὅτι καλὸν | ὅτι Katz] εστι(ν) 407 91 410; ετι rel.

96. 32.17, 27 (§4.2.2); 32.21 (§4.2.5). Hayward (p. 27) also notes the typically Targumic translations in 32.4 (not v. 5, as Hayward states), 36—נתן ni. | מסר htp.| παραδίδωμι. However, it is doubtful that G shares Tg's interest in making speech plainer.

97. Barthélemy *et al.* n.d.: ix; Hayward, 26. Hayward speaks of a 'common fund of exegesis reaching back into the pre-Christian period' (p. 27). It is interesting to note in this respect that modern versions (we have encountered no exceptions) have 'fields'/'Äcker'/'des champs'—i.e. plural. Of translations by commentators, Ewald (1840: 165), Holladay (1986: 206) and Bogaert (1995: 63) provide rare examples of sg. renditions.

98. For example, the article can also determine a class of objects, 'even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered' (GKC, §126n). Cf. the idiom יצת...בָּאֵשׁ (e.g. 32.29).

in addition to which the translator, ignorant of GKC, may have considered a generic sense ('all fields') acceptable. Nevertheless, G does tend to supply the article in such cases,[99] so that on the face of it—assuming the translator strove for literalness—LXXV would seem to have lacked the article.

If LXXV lacked the article, did it have a sg. noun? Assuming LXXV = *שדה, M could be corrupt by dittography, *נקנההשדה (*BHK*; van Selms 1974: 225 n. 12). However, Migsch (1996: 107) maintains that שדה must be generic, referring to all fields and not some fields (GKC, §123b; Waltke, §13.5.1-2; DG, §31), implying that G could not render *שדה as though it were שדות. This time, however, Migsch is unconvincing. There is no reason that a collective sense must be generic, and the best counter-example in Jeremiah is 35[42].9 (cf. n. 20), where שדה refers to one or more, but not all, fields. Admittedly, G does tend to render these collectives as sg.,[100] so lending some value to Migsch's observations. Yet G plainly *can* render a collective as pl. And once this is conceded, my earlier conclusion about the absence of the article in LXXV is undermined.

If G exercised the freedom needed to render שדה as ἀγροὶ,[101] there is no reason to prefer this retroversion over השדה, which also assumes translator freedom. If a common exegetical tradition was shared with Tg, precise translation by G is a non-issue. The absence of the article in G would simply be the appropriate adjustment for the change of referent from a particular field to a general (and indefinite) pl.[102]

Summarizing so far, if we permit the translator a measure of freedom, we need neither emend M nor postulate a variant LXXV. LXXV was simply expanded by עוד, and the interpretative rendition of G, like that of Tg, was stimulated by v. 44.

99. E.g. 9.22, נבלת האדם | οἱ νεκροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; 47[29].2, וזעקו האדם | καὶ κεκράξονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι (G = pl.); and 48[31].8, ואבד העמק | καὶ ἀπολεῖται ὁ αὐλών (G = sg.).

100. See 2.11; 4.29; 5.28; 15.8; 48[31].19; 51[28].22, all of which Tg renders pl. In 4.10, חרב | ἡ μάχαιρα, G has the article as well; note also the possible collective sense of עיר | πόλις in 30[37].18 (so Graf 1862: 376, but haplography is possible in M). G uses pl. when the collective noun is made definite by being in a cs. relation, e.g. 7.33; 9.21 (but 31[38].14 = sg.).

101. A freedom of form (pl. rather than the normal sg.) rather than meaning, which is indefinite (*pace* Migsch).

102. Likewise, an intentional change in number by M could be expected to involve the addition of the article.

The alternative is to retrovert G to ונקנו עוד שדת, and the main argument for this, apart from the version's prevailing literalism (and the tendency of G to render collectives as sg.: cf. n. 100), is the presence of the plus *עוד, a clear departure from M that makes it more economical to assume that the pl. is also a variant. An assimilation from v. 15 seems the most likely source of both variants, whether conscious or unconscious. This is a common position among older commentators.[103]

The two readings could therefore have arisen in various ways: (1) an original sg. (= M) was intensified both by pluralizing and by adding עוד; (2) an original pl. (= LXXV) was particularized, with עוד removed, perhaps to make the connection with the original event even stronger; (3) an original pl. was particularized in the M tradition and enhanced by עוד later in the LXXV tradition; (4) as per (3), except that ἔτι was a G addition. If M is judged the more difficult reading,[104] option (1) is the likeliest. Note also that options (3-4) assume that the variants did not originate together: that is, they are no more 'economical' than the free rendition theory, and option (1) requires secondary readings in both recensions, which is uneconomical in a different way.

To sum up, the main choice is between a free rendition like that of Tg, or a literal rendition of a pl. *Vorlage*. Judged in isolation, a free rendition seems somewhat likelier, but the relationship of this variant to the others under discussion must be considered.

6.6.1.4 (e) נתנה | καὶ παρεδόθησαν (v. 43b). Workman (1889: 350) and Migsch (1996: 262) retrovert *ונתנו. The antecedent of the pl. verb is either אדם ובהמה or the more distant *שדות (assuming LXXV was pl.). Unfortunately, *ונתנו fits poorly into the discourse. Either (a) it is part of the main chain of *w=qatal* verbs or (b) it is part of the citation.

In the first case, we have a prophecy of doom, which is absurd. However, G v. 44a also implies an initial **w=qatal*, so that *ונתנו would be

103. Hitzig 1866: 267; Giesebrecht 1894: 182; Duhm 1901: 270; Cornill 1905: 367; Rothstein 1922: 815. Streane (1896: 225) suggests that M singularized through the influence of vv. 7-9, 25. However, Stulman (1985: 83), Holladay (1986: 218) and McKane (1996b: 851) state or imply that LXXV = sg.

104. See Migsch (1996: 91): will the field bought by Jeremiah be bought again sometime in the future? If so, by whom? Does YHWH mean another particular field? If so, which? These difficulties are more apparent than real, as the answer to the second question does not need to be known for the application of the sign-act to the future to be effective. (It seems clear enough that Hanamel's field is meant.)

sandwiched between two other *w=qatal* forms, giving the appearance of consecution. If the translator saw it this way, then perhaps he reversed the tense to save the sense.

In the second case, we have to analyse שממה היא מאין אדם ובהמה *ונתנו ביד הכשדים. After a simple noun clause (SNC), *w=qatal* is commonly the apodosis of a conditional, temporal or causal complex sentence,[105] but the context does not fit this understanding, no matter what the antecedent of *ונתנו.[106] As a waw consecutive, there would ideally need to be some sense of progression, which the sentence lacks unless we translate along the lines of 'Fields will be bought in the land (of which you say, "it is desolate..."), even though they—the fields—will be given...'[107] Whatever lengths are gone to, waw consecutive *ונתנו is not a 'literal' *Vorlage,* as its tense is future. If the translator could write παραδοθήσεται in v. 36b despite his *Vorlage,* then why not do so here, when LXXV was actually encouraging it? As soon as we have to suppose translator freedom, the reasons for insisting on a 'literal' *Vorlage* are eroded.

This leaves us, if LXXV = *ונתנו, with a copulative waw (Waltke, §32.3), that is, non-consecutive. This would solve the tense problem, and a similar construction is found in Isa. 1.7-8, which also contains a change of subject in the second clause. LXXV would have to mean, 'it is desolate, without man or beast, because they [fields] have been given...' However, I have found no other examples in which the clause governed by copulative waw conveys a causal sense.[108]

It should be noted at this point that the only viable antecedent for the verb, whatever its form, is 'fields'. The alternative, 'man and beast', is

105. DG, §§69, 71; Niccacci, §§95-96, 101, 126; Waltke, §32.2.4.

106. Even a more loosely conceived relationship whereby 'the logical connection is not obvious and the clauses simply provide the starting-point of a new development' (DG, §71e) cannot legitimize אדם ובהמה as antecedent of *ונתנו.

107. 'The SNC in D[iscourse] is equivalent to the present (foreground)...; in the same way weQATAL in D expresses the future (foreground)' (Niccacci, §126).

108. What is more, there is always some sense of progression involved in copulative waw, whether temporal, resultative, explanatory, or whatever. Gibson speaks of 'an event going on at roughly the same time as a *previous* event' (DG, §84b, emphasis added). For example, Gen. 34.5, 'his sons were in the field, [so] he held his peace'; 1 Sam. 17.40, 'sling in hand, he drew near'; Isa. 1.7-8, 'your land is desolate...and [so] daughter Zion is left as a booth'; Jer. 3.8-9, 'she went and she whored, [by] taking her whoredom lightly, she polluted the land'; 1 Chron. 22.18, 'he has delivered the land's inhabitants to me, and [so] the land is subdued'.

intrinsically unlikely, given that the first line in the couplet is hyperbolic and the second line literal; it would be very strange to assert that every living creature had been removed from the land and given to the Chaldeans, as if to imply a universal exile. For something to be given to the Chaldeans (be it the city or the land) means that it is controlled by them, not taken home by them.

Given that ונתנו is unsatisfactory, it is probable that καὶ was added by G to a pair of clauses in simple apposition,[109] so that G was responsible for both the conjunction and the verbal aspect.[110] In v. 39—the only other time in Jeremiah 32[39] when the second of a pair of parallel subordinate clauses lacks a conjunction—G has also added καὶ, suggesting a stylistic motivation. Further, the clause is asyndetic in vv. 24-25, 36b. Although one might argue that this makes *ונתנו the more difficult reading, in actual fact *נתנו is also a difficult reading, whose difficulty could well have prompted the addition of καὶ as follows:

ונקנו* עוד* שדות*	A	They will yet be bought, fields
בארץ אשר אתה אמרת*	B	In the land of which you say
שממה היא מאין אדם ובהמה	B'	It is desolate, without man or beast
נתנו* ביד הכשדים	A'	They are given into the hand of the Chaldeans

Faced with a text like this, the translator would want to accommodate the change of subject between lines B' and A', and an added καὶ achieves this, implying two separate citations. Were אדם ובהמה the antecedent of *נתנו, only the first line would be describing the land, and so the two lines would not be in apposition. I therefore reject the possibility on two counts.[111] If the translator were not looking back to

109. Initial *qatal*, not *w=qatal*, properly carries this function (DG, §58b).

110. Giesebrecht (1894: 182) and Min (1977: ch. 2 n. 23) agree that the translator added καὶ. Aorist is actually fairly appropriate for LXXV = *qatal*, which (after a verb of speaking) is a 'report' form in the foreground of communication, at degree zero (Niccacci, §§22, 135). The previous clause is to be rendered by a present, so that linguistic prominence is best maintained in English by using the perfect, 'it is given'.

111. If this couplet were taken as a short poem in the midst of the discourse, the presence or absence of waw would be immaterial, but the shift to the third person would still require explanation. Reading נתנו as referring back to אדם ובהמה suggests the terrace pattern (Watson 1995: 208-13), but one expects the terraced phrase to be repeated verbatim. Watson provides just one non-verbatim example, from Ugaritic (p. 210).

ἀγροί, the use of καί to separate lines B' and A' would be out of keeping with the fact that the subject of B' is found in A'.

Finally, I have assumed that LXXV was pl., but this need not be the case. If G could add καί, why not pluralize the verb?[112] If indeed G has pluralized a sg. here, it would give us reason to suspect that the pl. of v. 43a also reflects a sg. *Vorlage* (ונקנה עוד השדה), as is the case with the versions. However, a pl. *Vorlage* נתנו does seem more likely, not only because it would help account for the καί plus, but because it is the more difficult reading with its change of number.[113]

In conclusion, I tend to the view that LXXV = נתנו, though whether this arose out of error, or was intended from the beginning, is hard to say. Neither can certainty be had regarding which reading came first, though M looks easier and more stereotyped. It is also of some significance that, as the retroversion above suggests, the readings of v. 43a and b are linked: נתנו implies שדות in v. 43a, and נתנה implies השדה. The implications of this will be pursued below (hence the bold letters on the right). **a**

6.6.1.5 (f) שדות בכסף יקנו | καὶ κτήσονται ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀργυρίῳ (v. 44a). The transposition is probably a genuine variant, judging by the general fidelity to word order in G. The verb-initial word order puts the clause on a level with v. 43b καὶ παρεδόθησαν, and (in LXXV) forms part of a chain of *w=qatal* forms that continues through to the end of v. 44 (as reflected in G, at least: see §6.6.2). The first implication of this is that if the G word order is original to LXXV, then καί almost certainly is too—whether or not LXXV is corrupt.[114] Even an accidental displacement of the verb in the LXXV transmission should have resulted in the secondary addition of ו, precisely because it is syntactically necessary. Thus, the translator's exemplar most likely read *וקנו שדות בכסף.[115]

112. As I have argued, the use of aor. to render נתנה (v. 36b) reflects a desire for historical accuracy on the translator's part (the city had not actually fallen yet). Could it be that, while the translator tolerated the obvious hyperbole of...שממה היא, he was reluctant to link the more prosaic refrain with this statement, given its assertion that no people remained, and preferred the strictly true statement that the fields (even if not the city) were in Chaldean hands?

113. Note that *L* (παραδοθήσονται) corrects the tense to fut., but leaves the pl. intact; only 62-407 Tht. have παραδοθήσεται. A textual corruption נתנו/נתנה in either direction is unlikely, as ה/ו are not prone to confusion.

114. *Pace* Min 1977: ch. 2 n. 23.

115. Although the action of v. 44 parallels v. 43, *w=yiqtol* (DG, §85) is unlikely,

We must also consider the possibility that either M or LXXV was corrupt, because of the similarity of וקנו and יקנו, and the fact that the ו/י interchange is, with ד/ר, the most frequent (Tov 1992a: 262). Possible explanations for this variant include (a) the marginalization of יקנו (associated with a haplography יִקְנוּ וְכתוב?) followed by its restoration as וקנו; (b) the corruption *in situ* of יקנו to וקנו, followed by its resultant removal to the proper syntactic position; (c) the reverse of (a) or (b), with initial וקנו being the original reading; (d) an intentional change by M, LXXV or G for literary or other reasons. **b**

Whatever the mechanism (the literary question will be taken up shortly), on textual grounds alone it looks as if the variant goes back to LXXV, not the translator.

6.6.1.6 (g) וכתוב...וחתום והעד | καὶ γράψεις...καὶ σφραγιῇ καὶ διαμαρτυρῇ (v. 44b-d). The finite verbs in G are no impediment to the conclusion that LXXV = M,[116] but such an assumption requires us to account for the choice of 2.sg. instead of the 3.pl. that the finite verb at the head of the series indicates. The answer does not come from general translation technique, since the inf. abs. is usually treated conventionally when it follows and replaces a finite verb. Whether inf. abs. + inf. abs. | ptc. + ptc. (23.14), or *yiqtol* + inf. abs. | impf. + aor. (36[43].23), or *wayyiqtol* + inf. abs. | aor. + impf. (37[44].21), the number of the Greek equivalent matches the obvious antecedent.[117] It is thus improbable that the presence of an inf. encouraged the translator to look beyond the antecedent *וקנו. Broader contextual considerations must have been responsible, as suggested by σὺ λέγεις (vv. 36aR, 43aR).[118] **d**

Assuming LXXV ≠ M yields *וקנו...וכתבת...וחתמת והעידת.[119] This has a secondary look to it, since it is more conventional than an inf. series,[120] and might suggest that LXXV was revised after its separation

since it is not in juxtaposition with a previous verb (JM, §166a n. 1). Workman's וְיקנו (1889: 350) has a mechanical appearance, and—since the Hebrew is not poetic (cf. Deut. 32.41)—is most unlikely.

116. The choice of finite for infinitive is seen in v. 33.

117. These examples also show that the translator understood the use of the inf. abs. (*pace* Giesebrecht 1894: 182).

118. Spohn (1824: 151) was perhaps the first to point out this connection.

119. הַעִידֹתָ is expected (Neh. 9.34), though הַעֵדֹתָה is also attested (Exod. 19.23).

120. Rubinstein (1952: 364) evaluates and dismisses Torczyner's theory that an original emphatically duplicated finite verb contracted in one limb to inf. abs., e.g. יִקְנוּ קָנֹה וְכָתְבוּ, causing the following finite verb to contract by analogy, followed by

from M. However, we cannot rule out revision for literary reasons in the M tradition, for example, to remove the verb chain off-line and bring 'fields' into prominence as the focus of interest.

The textual possibilities here are indicative of the problem of vv. 36-44 as a whole: it is impossible to distinguish in every case between the work of translator and exemplar, or to say which of M and LXXV generated the other, without venturing into broader-based literary investigations.

6.6.2 *The Shape of vv. 36, 42-44*

Verses 36-44 are divided in two by the *BtF*s of vv. 36, 42. The initial movement is from city (v. 36) to land (v. 41) as the locus of blessing for God's people. Verse 42 starts with the people whom God is blessing, and moves straight to the land (vv. 43, 44), with cities (pl.) now a subset of land; העיר הזאת is not mentioned. This unit-wide movement from city to land is emphasized by the parallelism of vv. 36, 43.

M	G	M	G
v. 36		v. 43	
אל העיר	ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν	בארץ	ἐν τῇ γῇ
הזאת	—	הזאת	—
אשר	ἣν	אשר	ᾗ
אתם אמרים	σὺ λέγεις	אתם אמרים	σὺ λέγεις
		שממה היא ...	ἄβατος ἐστιν...
נתנה	παραδοθήσεται	נתנה	καὶ παρεδόθησαν
ביד מלך בבל	εἰς χεῖρας...	ביד הכשדים	εἰς χεῖρας...
בחרב ...	ἐν μαχαίρᾳ...		

The only exact parallel in G is σὺ λέγεις, though *נתנו ביד in LXXV is a near parallel. Given the way הזאת brings together two diverse expressions, it is tempting to think that M has created a third parallel by altering *נתנו to נתנה (v. 43b).[121]

Moving on to vv. 42-44, we find very different discourse structures in

the initial inf. abs. eventually dropping out, leaving יִקְנוּ וְכָתוֹב. But Rubinstein's own suggestion that inf. abs. following a finite verb is a late feature inserted by scribes or copyists is equally speculative. Neither view forms a solid basis for dating M v. 44 later than a putative *w=qatal* chain underlying G.

121. It might be argued that הזאת in vv. 36, 43 is simply a conventional expansion, especially since it always follows הארץ in ch. 32, and only twice fails to follow העיר (vv. 24-25). However, given that these are the only two such M pluses, and that vv. 24-25 have been left unexpanded, a literary explanation becomes viable.

M and G. M opens with a retrospective כאשר + *qatal*, which is completed by כן + SNC in the foreground of communication. אנכי מביא and אנכי דבר are balanced, set in the present, and they are continued by the foreground form ונקנה (v. 43a). This produces a verb chain moving from past to present to future, a smooth progression that facilitates the change of subject from אכני to השדה. (The subject remains unchanged until it reverts neatly in the last verb of the chapter.) The chain is interrupted by the אשר clause that introduces the couplet שממה היא...נתנה, but the use of the 'report' *qatal* keeps the couplet in the foreground of communication. The chain is not resumed in v. 44a, but is continued by an *x-yiqtol* construction. With this, the fronted subject becomes the new centre of interest. Since there has been no movement in time or subject matter from v. 43 to v. 44, this is the appropriate form to use (cf. DG, §64a). Even the change from pass. to act. has not produced any forward motion in the discourse, as the new subject is a vague and unspecified 'they'.[122] Finally, the inf. abs. forms are even vaguer as to the subject of the action, mentioning no more than the verbal idea (GKC, §113y). Nothing detracts from the prominence of שדות.

In v. 42, G moves from aor. straight to fut., initiating a succession of clauses that begin with καὶ + fut. The chain is broken once in v. 42 by ἃ ἐλάλησα,[123] and once in v. 43 by σὺ λέγεις...ἄβατος ἐστιν...καὶ παρεδόθησαν. The antecedent of παρεδόθησαν is ἀγροὶ; G presumably chose aor. to indicate an accomplished action.[124] The dominance of the

122. The relationship between vv. 43 and 44 has been a stumbling block to many critics who consider that there is a fundamental redundancy here. Ehrlich (1968 [1912]: 326) emends v. 43a to וּמִקְנַת שדה to give the sense 'and as far as the purchase of fields is concerned', so making v. 43a the main subj. for v. 44; Volz (1920: 244) emends to וְאֵת קְנֹה השדה for the same reason. Others reject v. 44 as secondary, either because it is epexegetical (Weiser 1982: 301), or because it is at theological odds with earlier verses (e.g. Jones 1992: 418-19).

123. Note that the subordination of this verb is achieved not only by the use of the background aor., but by the absence of ἐγὼ in G (§6.5.8).

124. Note, however, that G is content with the pres. ἐστιν despite the fact that the land is not yet empty: the translator is willing to allow hyperbole when the language cannot be mistaken for anything else.

Furthermore, in the parallels in vv. 24-25 G is willing to use ἐδόθη of the future event of the fall of the city. Perhaps there is a distinction between the public and private voices of the prophet, so that in his prayer he anticipates the event to make a point, but his utterance of vv. 3-4 is—correctly and to good effect—in the present and future (G uses παραδοθήσεται of Zedekiah's fate). The citations in G vv. 36, 43

verb through v. 44 is hard to assess, given uncertainty about the *Vorlage* of καὶ γράψεις κτλ. The regularity of the clause structure in G is offset by the constantly shifting verbal subjects: from God, to fields, to their purchasers, to Jeremiah (also the subject of the aside in v. 43), to God. Thus, despite greater formal homogeneity, G is actually more heterogeneous as to its focus, creating a quick succession of images that together add up to a picture of the future. If we read the implied chain of *w=qatal* verbs as a series describing consecutive future events, the passage is clearly problematic. The similarity of καὶ κτήσονται to v. 43a καὶ κτηθήσονται is even greater than in M, where at least there is a progression from sg. to pl. If the *Vorlage* of καὶ γράψεις κτλ. = M, then LXXV presents us with two statements about fields (pl.): they will be bought despite having been handed over; they will be bought with money and the full legal requirements. This hardly qualifies as a waw-consecutive discourse, and suggests that the transposition in v. 44a reflects a corruption in LXXV.

On the other hand, assuming that the *Vorlage* of καὶ γράψεις κτλ. ≠ M, the right way to read LXXV is probably as a temporal complex sentence, that is, a protasis-apodosis construction: 'fields will be bought... and when they buy fields, you shall write in a book [etc.]'. Both the legal phraseology and the change of subject at γράφω combine to suggest a procedural discourse.[125]

One implication of these deductions is that if LXXV v. 44a consisted of a *w=qatal* series, v. 43a was almost certainly pl. (שדות). For if it were sg., the sense would be 'the field will be bought...and when they buy fields, you shall write...' This is very awkward, however, as the unexpectedly pluralized verbal object does not fulfil its resumptive role effectively. The only other way to make the discourse flow well is to assume that v. 43b read *נתנו, and that this prepares for the new object

should not be taken, however, as referring to Jeremiah's public statements, given the overt allusions to vv. 24-25 in G vv. 36 + 43-44 (§6.6.3). Rather, they probably 'correct' the language of the prophet.

125. Cf. Waltke, §32.2.3d. On the significance of change of subject for translating procedural discourse see Warren (1998). Migsch (1996: 308-10), who retroverts v. 44 to וקנו...וכתבת, also suggests that a temporal or conditional relationship is intended ('Und sobald man Äcker für Geld gekauft hat, sollst du eine Urkunde ausfertigen,' p. 308). The inf. abs. cannot substitute for the finite verb here, as the inf. abs. must be asyndetic and come first in the clause in order to convey a command (Waltke, §35.5.1).

('fields') of v. 44. However, *נתנו cannot refer to 'fields' (pl.) unless v. 43a is pl. c

Like all literary observations, these ones are difficult to apply to the textual problems at hand. A *w=qatal* series underlying καὶ γράφεις κτλ. makes for a coherent *Vorlage*, especially if LXXV v. 43a is pl. (*ונקנו). While one might expect the more complex structure of M to be made more conventional, there is no reason why, say, a desire to bring the motif of 'fields' to prominence above all else could not prompt the dismantling of a linear discourse. Neither can we rule out an accidental transposition in LXXV v. 44a (§6.6.1.6) prompting G to render an M-like *Vorlage* in v. 44b as a καὶ + aor. series (cf. v. 33, §5.5.7).

6.6.3 *Parallels*

In this section I shall develop, with some repetition, observations made in §4.4.12. There, v. 25 was the focus of attention, and particularly its links with vv. 7, 10, 44. Here, we are interested in the links between vv. 15, 25, 36, 43-44 (see Table 6.1).

The parallels are stronger in G. Regarding vv. 15 and 43, G corresponds in the number of subject and verb, and the presence of ἔτι (whose positioning in v. 43 is due to the exigencies of syntax). הזאת in M v. 43 probably has v. 36 in mind.

In vv. 25, 36aR, 43aR, the most striking parallel is the sg. σὺ λέγεις. In v. 25, Jeremiah cites God about the field, then complains about the city. In v. 36, God throws Jeremiah's complaint about the city back at him (the lack of ταύτην after τὴν πόλιν strengthens the parallel to v. 25), and then, in v. 43, he quotes Jeremiah to his face again, but with new referents (the land/fields—παρεδόθησαν), as if to say that to make one complaint is to make the other, and if he (God) can nullify the effects of the one, then so can he nullify the effects of the other. The parallel is even closer this time, with Χαλδαίων used. The σὺ λέγεις of v. 43aR thus depends for its effect on v. 36aR, which in turn depends on v. 25.

At this stage, however, we begin to encounter the translator/*Vorlage* problem, and are theoretically in danger of attributing the work of the one to the other. Who is responsible for drawing the parallels noted here? Regarding vv. 25, 44, once again G is closer to v. 25 than M is, both by the word order of v. 44 and the G plus of v. 25. This parallel forms the starting-point of my assessment of the extent of the translator's role. Adopting the 'null hypothesis' that he is responsible for the introduction of all second-person elements leads to the following results.

M	G	M	G	M	G
v. 15		v. 36		v. 43	
עוד	ἔτι			—	καὶ κτηθήσονται
יקנו	κτηθήσονται			ונקנה	#ἔτι#
בתים ושדות ...	ἀγροὶ καὶ οἰκίαι...			השדה	ἀγροὶ
בארץ	ἐν τῇ γῇ	אל העיר	ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν	בארץ	ἐν τῇ γῇ
הזאת	ταύτῃ	הזאת	—	הזאת	—
v. 25					
ואתה אמרת	καὶ σὺ λέγεις	אתם אמרים	σὺ λέγεις	אתם אמרים	σὺ λέγεις
אלי אדני יהוה	πρός με			v. 44	
קנה לך	κτῆσαι σεαυτῷ			שדות	καὶ κτήσονται
השדה	τὸν ἀγρὸν			בכסף	ἀγροὺς
בכסף	ἀργυρίου	*[v. 10]*		#יקנו#	ἐν ἀργυρίῳ
	καὶ ἔγραψα βιβλίον	*[καὶ ἐγράψα εἰς βιβλίον]*		וכתוב בספר	καὶ γράψεις εἰς βιβλίον
	καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην	*[καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην]*		והחתם	καὶ σφραγιῇ
והעד עדים	καὶ ἐπεμαρτυράμην	*[καὶ διαμαρτυράμην]*		והעד עדים	καὶ διαμαρτυρῇ...
והעיר	καὶ ἡ πόλις	(אל העיר	ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν)	v. 43	
נתנה ביד	ἐδόθη εἰςχεῖρας	נתנה ביד	παραδοθήσεται	נתנה ביד	καὶ παρεδόθησαν...
הכשדים	Χαλδαίων			הכשדים	Χαλδαίων

Table 6.1

First, despite presumed identical *Vorlagen,* different translation equivalents are provided in vv. 25 and 44b-d for בכסף, *בספר (absent from M v. 25),[126] and *ואעד. If the translator is altering LXXV v. 44 in the light of previous verses, his source must be the matching equivalents in v. 10 (though בכסף is lacking; see §4.4.12). Secondly, however, σὺ λέγεις in vv. 36aR, 43aR must be a revision specifically towards v. 25, which is at odds with the evidence from v. 44b-d that the translator's eyes were on v. 10. The solution to this problem is to conclude either (a) that he has rendered וכתוב etc. in v. 44b-d as 2.sg. under the influence of an extant sg. verb in v. 43aR: that is, the *Vorlage* of v. 43 σὺ λέγεις is sg.;[127] or (b) that LXXV v. 44b-d was already sg. (i.e. *qatal* sg.), and G singularized LXXV *אתם אמרים to make more explicit the fact that Jeremiah had been an addressee from v. 36 (a less likely scenario); or (c) that LXXV was sg. in all three places. My null hypothesis is thus disproven, and LXXV appears to be influenced by parallels. Was this an influence that also affected the translator, or should we attribute all such compositional activity to his *Vorlage?*

The most natural way to interpret the lexical choices in G v. 44b-d is to see them as not drawn consciously from any particular context, but as simply chosen to render what lay before the translator's eyes in the most appropriate form. It is more consistent with his habits as noted elsewhere (e.g. the use of fut. for נתנה in v. 36) to see the translator as being influenced by the immediate context and the perceived historical meaning of the verse. Thus, if LXXV v. 44b-d = M, I judge option (a) likely. **d**

I suggested earlier that in v. 36b, LXXV = נתנה = M, but that in v. 43b LXXV more probably = *נתנו. This, however, does not destroy the parallel in the latter case, if σὺ λέγεις truly represents LXXV, since this is the outstanding common feature. We would then want to see *נתנו in the context of a pl. *שדות in v. 43a (not in M) and *שדות v. 44 (not in v. 25).

I therefore leave this section disposed to consider that LXXV has been

126. In v. 44b εἰς is omitted by B-S-A-106′ Bo Aeth, leaving βιβλίον alone, as in v. 25. However, Ziegler correctly judges the reading haplographic.

127. If so, then LXXV quite probably read אתה אמרת in imitation of v. 25, rather than the sg. ptc. suggested by *BHK* and others. Regarding the 2.sg. in G, it was Jeremiah who wrote, sealed and witnessed, both in v. 10 and in v. 25 (LXXV). Given that the addressee in v. 44 is Jeremiah, this could have been enough to guide the translator to a choice of story before syntax.

influenced by parallels in vv. 15, 24-25, but that the translator has an eye to the immediate sense, and probably to historical accuracy.

6.6.4 *Synthesis*

We have found the variants examined above grouping together in such a way that the following conclusions can be drawn regarding LXXV:

a. Verses 43a and b must either be both pl. (שדות, נתנו), or both sg. (השדה, נתנה) (= M). **a**

b. Verses 44a and b-d must either be both *w=qatal*, or *x-yiqtol* + inf. abs. (= M). **b**

c. If v. 44a is *w=qatal*, then v. 43a must be pl., though the reverse is not true. **c**

c'. The corollary is that if v. 43a is sg., then v. 44a + b-d must be *x-yiqtol* + inf. abs.

d. If v. 44b-d is an inf. abs. series, then v. 43aR is sg., though the reverse is not true. **d**

d'. The corollary is that if v. 43aR is pl., then v. 44b-d (and thus also v. 44a) is *w=qatal*, though the reverse is not true. This is because G must have rendered the pl. of v. 43aR as sg. from v. 25, and is more likely therefore to have encountered 2.sg. verbs in v. 44b-d than to have rendered them pl. from v. 10 (rather than v. 25, as would have been expected).

From these conclusions we can deduce the following:

e. If v. 43a is sg., then v. 43aR is sg., though the reverse is not true (c' + d). **e**

f. If v. 43aR is pl., then v. 43a is pl., though the reverse is not true (d' + c [and b]). **f**

Pressing beyond this to reconstruct LXXV *in toto,* and beyond that to assess the relative ages of M and LXXV readings, is more speculative, leading to inner contradictions. The real *crux interpretum* is the conflicting claim of v. 43a over against v. 43b (conclusion a above). Either LXXV altered original השדה *and* נתנה to pl., or M altered original *שדות *and* *נתנו to sg. It should be noted that נתנה cannot refer to שדה (masc.).[128] Each possibility combines an easy and a more difficult reading, and, frustratingly, the conclusions gleaned above offer little help in

128. To put it another way, נתנה does not 'mind' what v. 43a reads, but נתנו does. Either LXXV shifted the verbal referent (land, because fem.) to fields, or M shifted it (fields, because pl.) to the land.

decision-making. Literary judgment must yet again be used in reaching any final conclusions.

There are at least three ways to proceed: (1) starting from the variants that provide the best textual evidence for assessments of originality; (2) starting from the observed (con)textual influences upon each version (LXXV, M, G) as discussed in the previous sections; (3) starting from an inferred motive for each version's shaping and working heuristically (i.e. backwards) to a reconstruction of the original readings.[129] I shall use (2) to support (1), and consider (3) briefly at the end. Regarding (2), §§6.6.2-3 suggest that different concerns underlie different texts. The translator has made each verse historically accurate; M has developed the unit vv. 36-43 itself; LXXV has been stimulated by parallels from vv. 15, 25. These three generalizations are not always valid, however, so that in v. 43b, LXXV *נתנו disturbs the otherwise neat pattern of assimilation to parallels in that version.

Regarding (1), the reading that can be assessed with most certainty is נתנה | καὶ παρεδόθησαν (v. 43b). This appears to be secondary in M, both because v. 36 (perhaps also v. 25) provides a ready source for harmonization, and because LXXV (assuming it is pl.) is the more difficult reading. Next, however, assuming that in v. 43a LXXV = ונקנו עוד *שדות, it is this that looks secondary on account of the harmonizing עוד and the general pl., both of which are easier. We should remember, too, that LXXV looks secondary in v. 44 by virtue of its more conventional *w=qatal* structure. If this is true, there are secondary readings in each version. However, the only reasonably secure assessment is v. 43b: given a suitable motive, literary reshaping could account for the 'difficult' readings of M in vv. 43a, 44. And the very fact that we have here a group of apparently interrelated variants makes just such reshaping a real possibility.[130]

129. Compare the three guidelines developed by Goldman (1992: 4-5): cohesion, composition, motivation. The differences in his approach are touched on in my concluding chapter.

130. More equivocal is אתם אמרים | σὺ λέγεις (vv. 36aR, 43aR), which is perhaps more difficult in M where it terminates the conversation between YHWH and Jeremiah begun in v. 6, and fails to take advantage of v. 25 as G does; one might thus see it as original to M. Yet it is tempting to judge the easier reading original here, since the pl. in M makes a more effective backdrop for the promises of vv. 37-41, 43-44, anticipating a time when all Judaeans have given up hope, and so avoiding pandering to false hopes as false prophecy would. The pl. also 'preaches' and broadens the applicability of the message, which is more appropriate

We now consider two possible textual histories of vv. 43a, b. First, השדה could be original in LXXV v. 43a and altered to pl. by G, as it was in the other versions:

v.	M	LXXV[131]	G
43a	(-עוד?)	(1) sg.	→ pl. (+ ἔτι?)
43aR	pl. ←	(5) sg.	
43b		(2) sg.	→ pl. (+ καὶ)
44a		(3) *x-yiqtol* (originally)[132]	
44b-d		(4) inf. abs.	→ 2.sg.

This leads to the difficult conclusion that in v. 43b, G has intentionally altered the referent of נתנה from הארץ to השדה for no apparent reason: the meaning is the same; the bringing of 'fields' to prominence is not continued in v. 44; no parallels are created.

On the other hand, if we assume that the readings in the 'LXXV' column belong to M, and that LXXV is the version which made the secondary changes, the problems grow still greater. If LXXV pluralized השדה, presumably under the influence of v. 15, it is hard to see why it should blunt the parallel with v. 25 by the change to *נתנו in v. 43b. An interest in the immediate context might explain it ('fields' brought to greater prominence), though this is a redactional motive hitherto postulated of M, rather than LXXV. Finally, by Conclusion e, v. 43aR is very probably sg., so that a secondary revision by M would also be required in order to pluralize it.

We turn therefore to consider the alternative, that LXXV v. 43b read *נתנו, and M harmonized to v. 36b:

v.	M	LXXV		G
43a	(-עוד?) sg. ←	(2) pl.		(+ετι?)
43aR	pl. ←	(5a) sg.	5b) sg./pl.	
43b	sg. ←	(1) pl.		
44a		(3a) *x-yiqtol* (originally)		
44b-d		(4a) inf. abs.		→ 2.sg.

for a later revision, further removed from the original events. Notice, too, how it forms a good counterpoint to the equally vague 'they will buy' in v. 44, adding to the set of correspondences between the verses. But we must add the Lucianic evidence to this equation, and this will be considered below.

131. The numbers trace the logial order of premiss and conclusion across the readings.

132. Verse 44a is *x-yiqtol* by Conclusion e; we judge it corrupted because of the transposition in G (§6.6.1.4).

44a	*x-yiqtol* ←	(3b) *w=qatal*
44b-d	inf. abs. ←	(4b) *w=qatal*, 2.sg.

This leads to the more difficult conclusion that M has singularized שדות in v. 43a and (perhaps) removed עוד, though a rare secondary reading in LXXV is as likely.[133] It is not, however, nearly so difficult as the previous alternative; as was shown in §6.6.2, it is a very effective shape for the discourse to take, as it creates a movement from city (v. 36) to land (v. 43, cf. v. 41), and from the field to fields, with the absence of עוד tightening the connection to the original purchase (a connection already present in v. 44b-d).

From this point, LXXV could have had one of two possible forms. Conclusions a-f do not assist the decision, so that a further literary judgment must be made. Beginning with line (3b) in the table above, it is logical to suggest that all the revising came from one source, that is, M. The changes to M v. 44 could well be aimed at a rhetorical sharpening of the unit, as already outlined. Yet the resulting discourse in LXXV is most unlikely. At what stage is the hope that Jeremiah himself will officiate over purchases in the restored land likely to have existed? Literary-critical judgments are unnecessary, since the texts of both M and G contain predictions of a 70-year exile, and the ימים רבים of v. 14 point to a similarly long time-span.[134] If they were in LXXV, one can readily understand a revision by M, but more likely than a *lectio difficilior* argument is the possibility that the translator found a *w=qatal* construction in v. 44a as a result of a corruption in LXXV (§6.6.1.5), and rendered the inf. abs. series with finite verbs in the second person. Admittedly, this produces a hard reading, but it must be put down to somebody, and a rendition that links the verbs to their original subject is typical of the translator: historically minded in the details, but not so interested in the grand scheme.

To this point v. 36aR has been ignored, largely because there has been little upon which to assess it. It was shown in §6.6.3 that the σὺ λέγεις of v. 43aR depends for its effect on v. 36aR, which might suggest that if v. 43aR was sg. in LXXV, so was v. 36aR. But the discourse

133. In this scenario, G has left the passage alone almost everywhere else.

134. The fact that the ימים רבים of 13.6 refer to a relatively short period within Jeremiah's life is not significant. Migsch confesses that the fact that Jeremiah obviously cannot appear as YHWH's "notary" in postexilic times is problematic (1996: 304 n. 62).

reads acceptably as found in *L´* (pl.…sg.), and looks ripe for editorial 'improvement'. If *L´* truly represents the Old Greek, then it was not the translator who made the improvement to sg., but a later copyist. One might argue (a) that if the translator altered v. 44b-d to 2.sg., one would expect him to do the same in v. 36aR. But I believe the sg. in v. 44 to have arisen from a damaged *Vorlage,* and to be a change aimed at filling out the immediate sense rather than assimilating to a parallel. One might also argue (b) that a pl. in LXXV does not sit well with a version interested in the parallels between these verses and vv. 15, 25. But if LXXV preserves most of the original readings, then it clearly reflects a variety of creative agendas: its distinctive readings do not all reflect a single recensional goal. A shift from pl. to sg. may well reflect a particular understanding of the events of committal and delivery, as outlined in §§2.3.3-4.[135] As I suggested there, Jeremiah 32 shows signs characteristic of a 'telescoped discussion', and the pl. in v. 36aR is a very significant part of that picture (as opposed to the pl. in M v. 43aR); this literary argument is more compelling to me than the two just raised, and, when combined with the fact that a pl.…sg. sequence has a textually genuine look to it, is enough to convince me to follow *L´* as reflecting LXXV, which also gave rise to M.

6.6.5 *Conclusions*

I conclude that an original discourse was shaped with vv. 15, 25 in mind (= LXXV), and subsequently revised with vv. 36-44 in mind (= M). The drawing out of parallels was not the sole compositional criterion for LXXV, as the pl. *נתנו in v. 43 shows, being as it is a less effective parallel to v. 25 than M happens to be. This in itself is an argument for the greater originality of the version; the variants due to M's revisional work, by contrast, reveal a consistent editorial policy. M is concerned to move from the particular (Jeremiah's field), to the general (fields), and to apply the message taught by the events of Jeremiah's day to a broader audience (vv. 36aR, 43aR). Every alteration by the translator can be explained in terms of the immediate sense of style or story, or as an accommodation of damage in the exemplar.

The one thing I have not found it necessary to do is theorize that LXXV is heavily revised secondarily, *pace* Migsch (1996: *passim*). I

135. Further, if it is just the vital vv. 43-44 that LXXV has made similar to vv. 15, 25, our theory that it is M and not LXXV that has taken trouble to bind vv. 36-44 more closely together is strengthened.

suspect just the one secondary addition of עוד, and no other changes. Migsch, however, argues that LXXV has altered 3.sg. to 2.sg. in vv. 36aR, 43aR, and goes on to say (pp. 302-303) that in order to be able to attribute the objection to Jeremiah, נתנה in v. 36b was reformulated in LXXV as *תנתן (cf. p. 262), because Jeremiah spoke before the fall of Jerusalem. I have shown that LXXV must be *נתנה, which weighs against its secondary nature. When Migsch argues that the translator was not responsible for the future tense (p. 303 n. 59), it is on the grounds that the translator's motive, had he emended, must have been the harmonizing of prayer and answer (in which case the failure to alter the verbs of vv. 24-25 to future is problematic). However, the translator's failure to match translation equivalents in vv. 44b-d and 25 shows that he is not interested in harmonizing.

Because of the judgment that the LXXV readings reflect the parent text, (a) it has the licence to display more than one tendency in its readings, since they are features of the composition, not a revision; (b) all the alterations to M and G can be explained in terms of a single revisional or translational goal.

A curious outcome of this study is the adventitious agreement between G and Tg in v. 43a. Though my first suspicion was a common interpretative background, if not tradition, behind the versions, I have been forced to conclude that Tg has interpreted M in such a way as to return it to its original state. It is, of course, a very natural interpretation (cf. virtually all modern versions), but one cannot help wondering whether the translator knew G at this point.

Finally, it should be emphasized that such a reconstructive process involves a chain of probabilities whose multiplication decreases the chances that the final conclusion is correct. When a trend in the data is noticed, it can quickly become a controlling force, wielded to eliminate inconvenient counter-evidence. This way, the critic can prove what is already believed on other grounds. Neither is the cultivation of consistent even-handedness a sufficient guide for reconstruction. One must decide beforehand where to be economical and where to allow untidiness and inconsistency. Thus Migsch (1996), for example, has been economical at the point of retroversion, assuming that almost all deviations arise from LXXV, not G. For him, the complicated part of the picture comes earlier. This in turn can complicate the analysis of pluses: his theory leads him to consider הזאת (vv. 36, 43) and נאם יהוה (v. 44) as deletions by LXXV. I have chosen to be more economical at the

earlier stage, arguing against a major revision of LXXV, and towards a single agenda behind the respective contributions of M and G. This choice I deem valid if each intervention so identified betrays a consistent attitude or aim in respect of the received text; otherwise there is no reason why changes could not have been piecemeal.

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

7.1 *Conclusions*

7.1.1 *The Discourse Framework of Jeremiah*

Markers of direct discourse in Jeremiah are less chaotic than Meier claims (1992: 258). Certainly, much of the variety is hard to account for, such as the choice of introductory formula (e.g. 14.1; 16.1; 18.1; 19.1), or the amount of information from the 'dispatch' recorded in the report. Such compositional variation is innocuous, however, compared with the disconcerting changes of person and speaker following *WGF*s and *WEF*s. Yet it is precisely these features that must be acquitted of the charge of chaos. A study of discourse markers in Jeremiah leads to the conclusion that the *WGF* does not control or participate in the discourse structure of the unit it heads. It can therefore govern, without tension, a discourse in which Jeremiah (named in the *WGF*) speaks in the first person. Being loosely bound to what follows, the *WGF* is flexible enough to introduce a discourse or a narrative; it is a macrostructural feature that forms part of the overarching third-person narrative framework of chs. 32–45, within which are held individual narratives and discourses. In short, the *WGF* and *WEF* do not disrupt their contexts in any redaction-critically significant fashion.

The *BtF* is a significant formula, neither gratuitously inserted nor secondarily added or deleted. It is an important part of the book's theology of the divine word. The speaker (YHWH or Jeremiah) cannot always be identified, and is not always meant to be identifiable—to hear one is to hear the other. In particular, it is incorrect to assume that YHWH only ever utters a *BtF* when citing words previously spoken.

Against this backdrop, Jeremiah 32 should be seen as a narrative (vv. 1b-25) and subsequent discourse (vv. 26-44) held together by the framework of *WGF* and *WEF*, which serve also to bind it into the larger story. Verses 6b-25 are neither a digression, nor necessarily an earlier

core built upon by the encircling discourse, but one unit bound into the book as an equal partner of its counterpart in vv. 26-44. Migsch's (1996) reclassification of Jeremiah 32 and 35 as discourses addressed by their narrator to his (extra-textual) readers, and not narratives within which characters speak to (intra-textual) addressees, betrays a failure to appreciate the way in which markers of discourse function in Jeremiah. This also leads Migsch to magnify the differences between M (discourse) and LXXV (narrative). Perhaps some of the confusion in this debate arises from the inappropriate application of textlinguistic categories derived from Genesis–Kings to the idiosyncratic macrostructure of Jeremiah.

The same cautions apply in textual criticism when comparing M and G/LXXV. In Jeremiah 32[39], they are both coherent discourses, so that in most cases a judgment that one reading is 'better' than the other lies in the eye of the beholder. The only genuine *Kohärenzstörung* in the chapter is G v. 8.

M and G are obviously different, but from the perspective of the discourse framework these are differences of degree, not kind. Thus the prolix titles and formulas of M, which contribute to its theology of the divine word, simply extend a pattern of use already found in G. Likewise, although M 'telescopes' discourses, G also shows signs of combining originally separate events into one event whose protagonist is YHWH.

7.1.2 *The Text of M*

The stability of the M tradition, combined with the fact that G has translated a revised *Vorlage,* makes the uncovering of corrupt readings extremely difficult; the apparatus of *BHK* is a playground of conjecture that reflects a licence towards the text less often exercised today (as illustrated by the profuse variety of suggested emendations found in older commentaries). Critics have traditionally been too quick to judge that a reading looks corrupt because it fits ill with their understanding of the text or its meaning (e.g. עד היום, v. 20). Perhaps the best glimpse into the early history of the M tradition (the Dead Sea scrolls excepted) is the reading tradition (*qere*), which sometimes updates antiquated but correct readings (vv. 1, ?35), and sometimes preserves genuine originals (vv. 4, ?21).

I have judged just one or two readings corrupt (הספר המקנה, v. 12 and possibly השנה...שנה, v. 1), but acknowledge—even in the former

case—that my reasons are quite as subjective as those of the critics whom I criticize, despite the support of a Q^{Or} reading. The fact that we are slaves of the tradition sometimes leaves us with little choice but to pass over perfectly good alternatives for lack of evidence in their favour (e.g. הכתבים over against הכתובים, v. 12).

The Targum, Peshiṭta and Vulgate are all characterized by the sort of improving renditions that mark G (e.g. [ה]כסף, v. 9; add. בן, v. 12; על/אל, vv. 36, 42), and they, with G, share a common tradition of pronunciation on the one hand (אדני יהוה, v. 17), and interpretation on the other (יפלא, vv. 17, 27; ובמורא, v. 21; השדה, v. 43).

The Vulgate shows additional variation resulting from its non-Semitic nature (שמו | *nomen tibi*, v. 18). Pesh shows harmonizing tendencies to a greater extent than the other versions (add. ܒܦܬܬܐ, v. 35; ܚܙܝܬ, v. 39).[1]

Finally, it is worth noting that from very early times the trend has been for the text of M to grow tidier. This is an inevitable and necessary reaction to the natural result of transmission error, which is untidiness, but the reaction seems always to go beyond the 'equal and opposite'. Modern critics are also guilty of over-enthusiasm in this regard, replacing one sort of speculative interpretation (that of the versions) with a more modern sort of exegetical emending. In particular, it is quite unnecessary to tidy up small variations and unevennesses in parallel expressions, but many commentators are unable to resist the temptation (e.g. the cases of ולמד אתם השכם ולמד, v. 33; לטמאו, v. 34). Ziegler provides a good example of this habit with regard to the Greek text.

7.1.3 *Ziegler's Edition of G*

Ziegler's edition of the Greek text is a monumental work of textual criticism that 'treads a path of compromise' between considerations of the best MSS and internal fitness (concurring with Soderlund 1985: 140). The latter method of operation, being essentially a literary enterprise, leads to choices that cannot be considered final, as Ziegler himself was well aware. Once the B group has been abandoned, the paucity or quality of MS attestation need not always exclude a 'fit' reading, though in practice it often does (e.g. the shunning of τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ [Arab] in v. 1). Where the variant is not an isolated expression, the collation and assessment of parallels becomes central.

1. Cf. also §4.6.1, examples n, o.

Of Ziegler's two conjectures in the chapter, one (ἀνεῳγμένον in vv. 11, 14) is based on the assumption of an 'exact' rendition by G (1958: 52), but there are enough examples of exegetical rendition to make this doubtful. The other (‹τῆς› μαχαίρας in v. 24) is based on the assumption of translator consistency or consistency in his *Vorlage*, which, though true as a general rule, cannot be extended to the status of a universal principle and, indeed, is demonstrably wrong at times, for example, in the rendition of lists, where G frequently adds καὶ (v. 32). That such inconsistency also extends to omissions of the article is seen in v. 29 as well (πολεμοῦντες), *pace* Ziegler; secondary insertion of the article is readily demonstrable (cf. §5.3.3). The same inconsistency is true of ב | ἐν, which is omitted in lists more than Ziegler is prepared to concede (v. 37).

In the final analysis, decisions about small elements, such as articles, conjunctions and prepositions, rest on the observation of trends and the weighing of probabilities. In my opinion, Ziegler has erred on the side of neatness, and has almost certainly 'corrected' originally inconsistent readings in G. In support of this is the number of occasions on which his corrections result in a text closer to M (e.g. his choice of κύριος over κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ, v. 28). In the one case where I have judged G to be closer to M than Ziegler, neatness also characterizes Ziegler's choice (σὺ λέγεις...σὺ λέγεις in vv. 36, 43). His text has the appearance of a finely restored product of the ancient scriptorium overlaid with a thin veneer of Göttingen precision and polish. Some degree of *Textpflege* is probably inevitable, however, and Ziegler has kept it to a minimum.

7.1.4 *Variants Attributed to M*

Both quantitative and qualitative variants can be divided into four groups: (1) modifications of names; (2) structural improvements; (3) clarifying alterations; and (4) assimilation to parallels. These are categories of convenience: for example, names play a structuring and clarifying rôle, structural changes *ipso facto* clear up ambiguity and improve rhetoric, assimilation performs a book-wide structuring function.

7.1.4.1 *Additions.* (1) Names are expanded seven times (vv. 1-4, 14-15), and although the result is rather heavy-handed for modern tastes, these expansions do not seem to be scattered randomly, but follow the contours of each individual discourse in roughly the same way as do the

titles in G. This is true of Jeremiah in general. In addition to this, Zedekiah seems to have come in for particular attention as compared with Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah or YHWH.[2]

(2) By far the most common additions are structural improvements (13 or 14 times in Jeremiah 32), by which I mean structurally significant repetitions of words or phrases from the immediate context.[3] They include names geographical and divine (vv. 8, 9, 25); נאם יהוה (vv. 5, 30, 44); הנה and לכן (vv. 27, 36); הזאת/הזה (vv. 14, 36, 43); also קנה לך and possibly את הספרים האלה (vv. 8, 14). אז (v. 2) is also structurally significant, though not repeated from the context.

(3) Additions from parallel passages include פקחות (v. 19); והדבר (v. 24); probably וכפרי מעלליו (v. 19); possibly לתת להם (v. 22). If v. 5b were an expansion it would be the largest in the chapter, possibly alluding to 1.19.

(4) The immediate sense is clarified by the addition of כל and probably לי, words with no apparent structural significance (vv. 12, 19, 31).

Approximately one quarter of the variants examined are secondary additions in M. These additions are unevenly distributed, with vv. 1-15 more expanded than what follows. What is more, particular types of expansion tend to cluster together, giving the impression that the reviser has worked on one section at a time, tightening its structure, strengthening its rhetoric, enriching its allusiveness, or clearing up ambiguities as the situation requires. Specifically, we see names added to vv. 1-5, structural improvements in vv. 6-15 and 36-44, assimilation to parallels basically confined to Jeremiah's prayer, and macrostructural markers tying together the chapter as a whole.

7.1.4.2 *Alterations*. (1) No names are altered; most changes are structural.

(2) Structural alterations are found in the same places as structural additions: vv. 12 (*אתו → את הספר המקנה), 28 (*הנתן תנתן → הנני נתן), 43 (*ונקנו עוד שדות → ונקנה השדה), 43 (*אתה אמרת → אתם אמרים), 43 (*נתנו → נתנה). Verse 28 creates links with 32.3 and 34.2, and the same

2. This is a feature out of which considerable mileage has been made (Stulman 1984, 1986; Stipp 1996; Applegate 1998; Rofé 1998).

3. Most of these are classed by Janzen as additions from parallel contexts (cf. Janzen 1973: 49), but I prefer to distinguish immediate from distant context, since a different sort of revisional activity would seem to underlie each type of assimilation.

three verses are linked together by the addition of לכדה in LXXV 34.2.[4] Given its crucial position in the discourse, it is appropriate that v. 43 is the most heavily revised, two alterations linking it with v. 36, and one—ונקנה השדה—with vv. 9 and 25.[5] Finally, it is also possible that LXXV v. 24 read *ואתה ראה, and that M altered ואתה to והנך.

(3) The presence of פקד in v. 5b seems to have prompted the alteration of *פקד to שוש in v. 41, presumably to avoid misinterpretation by association.

(4) Assimilation to parallels takes the form, here, of transposition. G is extremely faithful to word order, with just six of the variants examined falling into this category, not counting the 'pseudo-transpositions' involving Zedekiah's name. Of the six, two probably reflect harmonization in M (vv. 1, 15), three could be older in either version (vv. 5, 8, 39), of which one is linked with a corruption in LXXV (v. 5), and one is secondary in LXXV as a result of corruption (v. 44). Thus, in at least three of the six cases G is true to its *Vorlage*, as we may presume it is in the other three.

There is therefore no fundamental difference between the goals of qualitative and quantitative innovation in M, with the possible exception of שוש in v. 41, which has an exegetical flavour. In other words, while the focus of interest in Jeremiah studies has been upon expanded names and titles, and upon speculations about a potential *Tendenz* behind the changes, and while such elements are no doubt present in the recension, it would seem—in ch. 32 at least—that most of the reviser's work is concerned with improving the clarity and tightening the structure of the discourse.

7.1.5 *Variants Attributed to LXXV*

At this point, results immediately become less assured, doubt being compounded by the extra step of retroversion. Occasionally the issues are clear-cut and the outcome unambiguous (e.g. נתנה | παραδοθήσεται in v. 36b), in which case we can move from the known to the unknown, but such cases are rare. Putative LXXV pluses can be fitted into the same categories as those of M (itself another point in favour of their genuineness).

4. See Applegate (1986) for an argument that 32.1–34.7 is a single literary entity.

5. That the most heavily revised parts of the pericope are its beginning (vv. 1-4) and end (vv. 43-44) tallies well with Stulman's observations (1986: 142).

7.1.5.1 *Additions.* (1) The added names in G are the most difficult elements of Jeremiah 32[39] to trace to their source. One must simply assume that they derive generally from LXXV because of the translator's fidelity. However, the willingness of the translator to render אלי as πρὸς Ιερεμιαν, albeit in compensation for a damaged *Vorlage* (v. 6), and the unlikely appearance of πρός με in 36[43].1, opens the way for the claim that G can be creative with names in the interests of clarity. This being said, I do not consider the evidence of Jeremiah 32 sufficiently strong or extensive to challenge the current doctrine that G found these pluses in his *Vorlage*. A closer, contextual examination of all the pluses in G is needed (see the list in Min 1977: 130-46).

There are, then, two added names in LXXV, vv. 1 and 8, and each completes a pair of names from the previous clause or verse. In addition, the first appears to be taken from 34[41].1, pointing to the influence of parallels on LXXV in addition to its evident interest in structure.[6]

(2) The addition of the title *אלהי ישראל (v. 28) again demonstrates an interest in structure, an interest that my study of vv. 36, 43-44 suggests is foreign to the translator. It also increases the probability that the plus in v. 25, tied as it is to v. 9, is part of the same LXXV revision and not an isolated scribal gloss. Finally, עוד in v. 43, an allusion to v. 15, is probably also secondary in LXXV.

7.1.5.2 *Alterations.* (1) The one altered name in LXXV is in v. 26, ירמיהו אל | πρός με. We can be more certain that it is secondary than that it goes back to LXXV.

(2) The only other possible alteration identifiable is in v. 25, *והעד → *ואעד, made to facilitate the following addition.

It is interesting to note at this point that, on occasion, each version achieves the same structural goal by a different method. Thus vv. 28, 36 are bound together by לכן in M v. 36 and *אלהי ישראל in LXXV v. 28; vv. 3, 28 and 34.2 are bound together by הנה in M 32.28 and *לכדה in LXXV 34[41].2; the openings of chs. 32 and 34 are bound more closely by the transposition in M and by *מלך בבל in LXXV.

6. Note that there are as many added names and titles in G chs. 32[39] and 35[42]—six in all—as in the rest of the book (Stipp 1994: 146-47). This provides three curious connections between Jeremiah 32 and 35: the shift of person after the *WGF*, the discourse structure variations (§5.6.1), and the added names.

7.1.5.3 *Corruptions*. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of LXXV, and one which finds no counterpart in M ch. 32, is its haplographic character. Though studies of the text of Jeremiah have recognized this,[7] I believe its extent to have been seriously underestimated.

In Jeremiah 32 alone, I have counted between 11 and 17 examples of parablepsis, headed by two probable skipped lines in vv. 5-6, 30b. Strong probabilities include -ה מאת (v. 9); החתום המצוה והחקים (v. 11); ואת החתום ואת (v. 14); יהוה הנה (v. 17); -ותם לתת להם (v. 22); הנה הסללות (v. 24); וביד הכשדים וביד (v. 28); לטמאו ו- (v. 34); -יהם להיטיבי אותם (v. 40); further possibilities include את הספרים האלה את (v. 14); על כל (v. 19); -יו וכפרי מעלליו (v. 19); היה והנך ראה (v. 24—though haplography in G is more likely); ושרפוה ואת (v. 29). There is also a probable haplography behind the plus in vv. 18-19.

Other errors include an ד/א corruption (v. 8), an added מ (v. 12) and a ו/י interchange (v. 43). As mentioned, the G plus in vv. 18-19 has the look of a marginal gloss associated with a corruption (probably haplography).[8]

As opposed to additions and alterations, these variants are scattered randomly throughout, and although some are susceptible to analysis as structural additions, many are not. In addition, several seem to have resulted in unusual Greek readings nearby, by way of compensation (see below). The following table summarizes these observations:

	Additions		Alterations		Corruptions	
	M	LXXV	M	LXXV	M	LXXV
Names	7	2	—	1	Parablepsis	
Structural	13-14	3	6	1?	—	11-17
Clarifying	3	—	1	—	Other	
Parallels	2-5	—	2-5	—	1	4

M is much more heavily revised, but in basically the same direction as LXXV, except perhaps for an exegetical tendency reflected in clarificatory and harmonizing variants. However, these are present in LXXV outside Jeremiah 32 (e.g. 34.2), and more text must be examined in order to confirm these trends. Finally, the numbers in the table suggest that inadvertent abbreviations in the LXXV transmission history contribute

7. Stipp 1994: 60; Janzen 1973: 128; Min 1977: 148-50.

8. Tov has identified about 55 ר/ד interchanges between M and G, a higher rate than in most other biblical books (1992a: 262).

as much to the divergence between the versions as do the revisions of M.[9]

7.1.6 *Features of the Translation*

Sweeping assumptions about 'literalness' often have the effect of veiling the creative contribution of the translator to the shape of his text. Some, like Migsch, retrovert maximally, while others, like Min, are reluctant to comment on any grammatical variants. The middle path that this study has trodden can be negotiated by carefully examining translation technique across the book and applying the results case by case.[10]

The readings identified as non-variant (LXXV = M) reflect different types of free translation. The following categories are used:

1. grammatical freedom;
2. lexical freedom;
3. quantitative freedom.

In each of these categories, some readings arise from relatively fixed causes (a-c), while others suggest a striving after particular effects (d-h):

a. the two translators of Jeremiah;
b. syntax—differences in the structures of source and target languages;
c. Greek style—non-tendentious free use of the article, conjunctions, and prepositions;
d. 'discourse literalism';
e. exegesis—a desire for clarity and historical accuracy;
f. the avoidance of lexical or syntactic levelling;
g. compensation—allowances made for corruptions in the exemplar;
h. amelioration—unacceptable statements concerning God rewritten.

9. Since the completion of the present work, two significant studies have been published (Lundbom 1999; Freedman and Lundbom 1999) in which it is argued that, in Jer. 1–20, there are not just 13 probable cases of haplography in LXX[V], as Janzen has suggested (1973: 117, 119), but over 50. Lundbom concludes, 'It seems clear that a fresh look needs to be taken at the LXX omissions in Jeremiah..., for it is simply not the case—in chaps. 1–20, at least—that the shorter LXX text is better than MT' (1999: 62; cf. pp. 885–87).

10. Note that my study of translation technique was not exhaustive, as it focused only on unusual renditions—a matter of judgment. For example, I ignored the unique equivalence בעיני | κατ' ὀφθαλμούς in v. 30. Sollamo (1979: 128) finds an exegetical rendition here: the Hebrew was taken to mean 'to a person's face'. This is in keeping with my findings.

7.1.6.1 *Grammatical Freedom.* Under this heading I include alterations of person, number, tense, voice and mood, but not the addition or omission of the article, conjunctions, prepositions or pronouns. Only number and aspect differences were found in Jeremiah 32[39].

There are 11 differences in number, one of which was unretrovertable: either K or Q in v. 23 could underlie G. None of the others reflects a variant *Vorlage*, as far as one can tell. διαμείνῃ in v. 14 has a nt. pl. subject; many other cases reflect an unsystematic use of pl. for sg. (e.g. ביד, v. 2; עון, v. 18; ובמורא, v. 21; העליליה, v. 19). These examples come under the subheading of 'style', but some cases of stylistic freedom are actually in the service of 'discourse literalism'. That is, inconsistency as judged at the level of single words is seen to be consistent at discourse level. Examples are the predictable choice of sg. or pl. to render ארצות, according to the context (e.g. v. 37; cf. 16.5; 23.8), and the sg. adjectives רעה/רע and טוב, according to their syntactical function (vv. 23, 32, 42). I should also cite חיק (v. 18), uniquely rendered plural because it qualifies a plural noun; it is thus motivated by syntax as well. The label 'discourse literalism' does not mean to imply that no exegesis is involved in the lexical choices, but reflects a subset of exegetical renditions characterized by the nature and consistency of the criteria determining the choice.

Even more noteworthy are the six variations in verbal aspect, some of which are also driven by a desire for 'discourse literalism', which in this case is dictated by the contours of the Hebrew discourse. Cases in point are היה כלוא | ἐφυλάσσετο in v. 2,[11] and the progression aor.... fut....aor. in v. 42, where differences between the source and target languages are involved. Such differences often produce aspectually 'free' standard equivalents, such as the use of finite verbs for Hebrew non-finite forms: cf. v. 33, ולמד | καὶ ἐδίδαξα.

A different sort of motive behind aspectual freedom can be seen in v. 36, נתנה | παραδοθήσεται. This is a frankly exegetical rendition, probably in the interests of historical accuracy. An interesting sub-type of exegetical renderings is found where damage to the exemplar forced compensatory adjustments. The choice of aspect in v. 25, אמרת | λέγεις, is possibly a compensation for the translator's omission of והנך *ראה; similarly, the chain of 2.sg. verbs in v. 44 is in the first instance a result of the damage to the previous clause in LXXV.

11. The quantitative freedom here is another matter, and would appear to be a stylistic choice.

7.1.6.2 *Lexical Freedom.* The first factor to be excluded is the difference between the two translators of Jeremiah. In addition to differences noted by Thackeray (1903), Martin (1957), Tov (1976) and others, idiosyncracies of Jeremiah β' include: (a) a possible increased use of οὐ μή; (b) the use of μίασμα instead of βδέλυγμα; (c) πίστις or δίκαιος for אמת, rather than ἀλήθεια/-ινος; (d) אף | θυμός and חמה | ὀργή, rather than vice versa; (e) a tendency to render דרך (sg.) by ὁδός (pl.). (f) The omission of δέσποτα in rendering אהה אדני יהוה may also be due to Jeremiah β'.[12] About 25 remaining free renditions occur in ch. 32[39].

A broad range of equivalents is found for some types of words, especially technical words and prepositions. Into the former category fall צרים | ἐχαράκωσεν (v. 2) and סללות | ὄχλος (v. 24), both of which are here given dynamic equivalents that add vividness to the account. In the case of prepositions, lack of stereotyping more probably reflects a lack of interest in the exact meaning of the Hebrew word. It is nouns and verbs over which real care is exercised. Thus, for example, על is rendered by ἐπὶ, εἰς, διά (also περί, ὑπέρ, πρός, dat.); in the other direction, ἐπὶ is used for מן, ב, ל, אל, על, etc. Similar variety is seen with אך, למן and other particles. As with 'discourse literalism' of aspect and number, it is ultimately contextual considerations that control the choice of preposition.[13]

An example of 'discourse literalism' is אדם | γηγενής (v. 20), used both because of the contours of the discourse and the meaning of אדם here (all humanity). Of note also is the way that the translator signals a departure by its exemplar from a set phrase, once by varying word order from the standard sequence (καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγενήθη, v. 6), and once by using an unusual translation equivalent (נטויה | ἐκτεταμένῃ in 21.5: see §4.5.1 n. 77). Considerations of historical accuracy may have prompted the equivalence מלך | βασιλεῖ (v. 35); renditions with a more prominent exegetical component are הגאלה | παραλαβεῖν (v. 7), where the unique combination with משפט is being interpreted; and

12. Discussions of these six features may be found in §§3.5.4; 5.4.7; 6.5.6; 6.3.2; 4.4.3; 4.6.1.2 respectively.

13. Martin (1957) has made a thorough study of the cases, pronouns and prepositions in G, and arrives at the same conclusions regarding prepositions: 'The translators of Jeremiah did not have a system of equivalents so that a given Hebrew preposition is always translated by the same Greek preposition...the choice of the specific Greek preposition is usually dictated by the demands of the Greek language' (p. 306).

ἀνεγνωσμένον (v. 14). This seems to be the most common type of exegesis in the chapter, and it is seen at work in the translator's unwillingness to create lexical levelling, which occasionally drives him to unusual choices. The example mentioned from v. 7 leads to two unusual renditions of a single root: ירשה | κτήσασθαι (v. 8), which reflects the fact that παραλαμβάνω has just been used for גאלה, and וירשו | καὶ ἐλάβοσαν (v. 23), distinguishing it from both the preceding examples. The reason for all this manoeuvring is the corrupt reading *גדלה in v. 8, making this an example of the phenomenon of compensation.

Not infrequently, free renditions reflect an attempt to smooth over a corruption in LXXV: יהיה | καθιεῖται and אלי | πρὸς Ιερεμιαν both result from the loss of LXXV vv. 5b-6; לטמאו | ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν (v. 34) suggests the supplying of an object from the context after ו dropped from LXXV. In the latter case, the particular choice happens also to be more theologically acceptable, and this brings us to the final category.

The remaining examples are ameliorative, aimed at hedging in the doctrine of God: יפלא | ἀποκρυβῇ (vv. 17, 27); אשוב | ἀποστρέψω (v. 40)—which is part compensation for the following omission in LXXV, part theological amelioration. Further possible ameliorations are τοὺς βωμοὺς (v. 35) and ששתי | ἐπισκέψομαι (v. 41, though LXXV probably ≠ M). In the first two cases mentioned, the reading of G is found in all versions, suggesting a common exegetical tradition at work in antiquity. Such a tradition may not have been confined to theologically loaded issues, but could well have included questions of grammar and syntax, as suggested by the common form-association of v. 21: מורא | ὅραμα.

7.1.6.3 *Quantitative Freedom.* The translator has added or omitted words about 40 times in Jeremiah 32[39], including the omission of vocable segments, but not counting non-representation of the *nota accusativi.* Most are small, such as the omission of the article (four times) or prepositions (four times), or the addition of καὶ (nine times, omitted once); never is there more than a single word added or omitted. Similar motivations to those mentioned in the previous section can be inferred here as well.

Some 'stylistic' alterations have more to do with syntax than exegesis, as they involve differences between source and target languages. Although G is replete with Hebraisms, there are occasions when good Greek is used: לא...כל דבר | οὐθέν (v. 17), הֲ–...כל דבר | τι (v. 27), cf.

ὡς...οὕτως (v. 24, where some exegesis is also involved), and ותקרא | καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι (v. 23, where the unique verb-form prompted a paraphrase).

Many quantitative variations should simply be regarded as normal, unstereotyped equivalents that are used with no particular motive beyond that of loosening the style. Thus we see קנה נא | κτῆσαι (v. 8); לאיש | ἑκάστῳ (v. 19); הכסף | ἀργυρίου (v. 9); בכסף | ἀργυρίου (v. 18); ובסביבי | καὶ κύκλῳ (v. 44); עליהם | αὐτους (v. 41). The translator's freedom in joining elements of lists is noteworthy, commonly involving additions (vv. 12, 32, cf. vv. 39, 41),[14] but also omissions (ה, v. 24; ו, v. 32; בני, v. 32).

'Stylistic' renditions are sometimes hard to distinguish from 'exegetical' renditions; it can come down to a question of the translator's intention, something generally inaccessible to us.[15] Presumably, the abbreviations את הכסף | > (v. 9) and לעשות לא עשו | οὐκ ἐποίησαν (v. 23) were made to smooth out the translation, which is to say, to increase its clarity, that is, perform contextual exegesis. More patently exegetical are the additions υἱοῦ (v. 12) and καὶ (v. 43), which ensure historically accurate readings of the text. Similarly, the category of 'discourse literalism' is essentially an exegetical one, as discussed, though the exegetical component is less in the case of לא | οὐ μὴ (32[39].4, 17) than אנכי דבר | ἐλάλησα (v. 42): in the latter case, the pronoun is consistently omitted in special circumstances; the definition of such circumstances, however, is exegetical.

The characteristic style of literalism pursued by the translator is seen in v. 29, ושרפוה ואת | καὶ κατακαύσουσι, where it seems to have been not just smoothness, but unwillingness to permit lexical levelling that prompted the omission.

The final two categories are compensation and amelioration. הישבים | > (v. 12) and the added καὶ before γραφόντων compensate for the corrupt *עמדים; καὶ θήσεις (v. 14) looks like a compensation for the previous LXXV haplography; אשר עיניך | οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου (v. 19) probably marks a pause in the discourse after the long plus of vv. 18-19; הנלחמים | πολεμοῦντες (v. 29) is a clear sign that LXXV, not G, was the

14. Extra conjunctions in G may be related to the fact that more words are often needed for each term in the list than is the case in Hebrew.

15. We must therefore be alert to the possibility of 'pseudo-variants' (Tov 1997: 162). In v. 39, transposition apart, probably LXXV = M, and the translator (mis)read אחד as if it were אחר.

damaged text in v. 28. In v. 24, והנך ראה | > is possibly a theologically motivated abridgment; finally, the omission of μου in the covenant response formula of v. 41 is almost certainly theologically motivated.

These results are summarized in the following table, which plots the numbers of variants occurring by form and distinguishing features:[16]

	1 Grammatical	2 Qualitative	3 Quantitative	Total
b. Syntax	2	—	4	6
c. Style	5	6	18	29
d. 'Disc. literalism'	7	1	3	11
e. Exegesis	1	2	5	8
f. Anti-levelling	—	2	1	3
g. Compensation	2	5	5	12
h. Amelioration	—	6	2	8
Other	—	1 (v. 39)	1 (v. 17)	2

The sheer number of variants, apparent or real, shows that the translator has made a significant personal mark on his text. Although most are the relatively trivial results of non-stereotyped equivalents (category c), the category which stands out is g, which forms a fascinating counterpart to the large number of corruptions in LXXV. Indeed, 5 of the 11 'very probable' haplographies listed above (§7.1.5.3) have resulted in compensatory renditions of the remaining, syntactically related, text.[17] And all four corruptions of other types have had the same effect. This is valuable supporting evidence for my contention that LXXV is a much shortened text.

7.2 *Discussion: Breaking the Seal*

7.2.1 *The Translator and his Critics*

The present study has aimed to illustrate something of the complexity and subjectivity of the textual criticism of Jeremiah, discriminating between those conclusions that can be claimed with some confidence

16. Features of Jeremiah β' have been omitted. Numbers do not tally precisely with the previous summaries, as some variants are marked by more than one feature (e.g. compensation and amelioration), as described above.

17. It is not to be expected that all haplographies should create breaks in the text (*pace* Stipp 1994: 60), as the loss of a word or words need not make nonsense of what remains, especially if it has dropped from a list or other chain of terms with common beginnings or terminations.

and those that cannot. My own conclusions are hesitant not only because of the inbuilt uncertainties of the subject, but also because there is much work yet to be done. This is well illustrated by an interesting feature of recent textual studies of Jeremiah, according to which they can be divided into two groups.

In the first group fall the 'butterflies'—Janzen (1973) and Stipp (1994) in particular—who arrive at their conclusions by selecting examples from across the whole book, but without paying very close attention to any specific passage. They have come to firm conclusions about the translator's unwillingness ever to be creative with his text. On the other side are the 'caterpillars' who crawl slowly over a small unit of text—Soderlund (1985); Goldman (1992); Reimer (1993: cf. pp. 153-54); articles by Schenker (1991: cf. pp. 257, 261-62); van der Kooij (1994); Becking (1994)—and they perceive significant amounts of interpretive translating. (Significantly, McKane [1986, 1996b] also falls into this category.)[18] The same difference can be seen in regard to conclusions about translator amelioration: compare the 'butterfly' Zlotowitz (1981) with the 'caterpillar' Streane (1896).[19] It is not surprising, then, that my conclusions are typical of the second group. And my results, along with the others mentioned, suggest that global rules are inadequate, not only for assessing individual cases, but for characterizing LXXV as a whole.

Although Zlotowitz proves that the translator is not afraid of metaphor in relation to God (anthropomorphism and the like), his research does not pay sufficient attention to context, and thus fails to separate out cases where God's nature is more fundamentally threatened, for example, verses that imply that God could be surprised (v. 24) or could be the vassal in a covenant relationship (v. 41). And where no metaphorical vocabulary is present, Zlotowitz passes over amelioration without comment, for example, vv. 17, 27 (divine impotence), v. 40 (God following the people). Because he wields too broad a brush, a significant distinction is painted over.

The same is true of the wider debate about translation technique. Close attention to context reveals in Jeremiah 32 a striving for

18. The outstanding exception to this rule is Migsch (1996), who shares Janzen's view of the translator despite his narrow focus. Note also that the second group of scholars make uneasy bedfellows in other respects.

19. See Streane on Jer. 12.14; 13.17; 18.17; 26.3, 13, 19; 31.20a, b; 32.17, 27; 36.26; 48.31; 49.35. Streane had already produced a commentary (1881).

'discourse literalism', which sometimes results in quantitative and lexical freedom. The concern for historical verisimilitude should probably also be placed under this rubric, in that it predictably prompts departures from wooden renditions (e.g. v. 36b). Secondly, while God-talk is not generally censored, there does seem to be a boundary which the translator is reluctant to transgress. Thirdly, it would be rash to assume that translation policy is constant over the entire book. The poetic sections are a case in point, where arguably the more difficult Hebrew has prompted more significant abbreviation.[20] And finally, extensive haplography in LXXV has prompted compensatorily free renditions on the one hand, and brought about the reclassification of a large proportion of M pluses on the other. For all these reasons, the conclusions of Janzen and Stipp concerning a literal translator and a shorter, older, exemplar can form no more than a first approximation. It should be remembered that very many pluses are classified solely by the argument that 'M is expansionist'; one could, however, conceive of a point being reached where the number of exceptions mounts to a level where this securest of rules is called into question. Admittedly, this is unlikely (especially given the fact that haplography is a different class of variant, being accidental), but the fact remains that much more crawling over the landscape is required before the impressions gained from the air can be properly interpreted.

7.2.2 *The Text and its Translator*

More positively, the present study has held out several promising guidelines for more accurate retroversion which merit further testing. They can be expressed as a series of diagnostic questions for separating free renditions from variant *Vorlagen*: (1) Are the contours of the discourse in M followed? (2) Is doctrine at stake, and not simply language about God? (3) Is historical accuracy in question? (4) Could a nearby corruption have led to compensation?

One further guideline might be derived from the observation that, with only one exception, every case of lexical freedom in Jeremiah 32 is quantitatively exact, and every case of quantitative freedom is

20. Althann (1983). In his recent commentary Lundbom not only bears this out, but goes even further, arguing at many points that MT has preserved 'far and away the better text—poetically, structurally, and in terms of coherence' (1999: 582, referring to Jer. 10.1-16).

lexically straightforward.[21] Though this could well be a coincidence, it raises the possibility that the translator is only prepared to indulge in one liberty at a time. If this could be established, it would be a useful aid to retroversion, as for example in the case of ἐπισκέψομαι (v. 41). Thus we can add, (5) Is a potential lexically free rendition quantitatively free? As opposed to questions (1-4), a 'yes' answer here might imply a variant *Vorlage*.

The work of Migsch on Jeremiah 32 is singular by virtue of the fact that it allows for hardly any translator freedom (1996: 80). I have argued in many places that this is a serious lapse of method on his part, and it has serious ramifications.

According to Migsch, LXXV is a discourse whose shape is identical to that of G (1996: 258-59). It differs only in vv. 43-44, which Migsch promotes to level two of communication. On the other hand, my analysis of v. 6 as corrupt makes the discourse structures of M and LXXV identical in vv. 1-25. Further, the second person in LXXV v. 26 creates a discourse demoted one level by comparison with M in vv. 26-44; otherwise they are identical. These differences of discourse structure are text-critically significant, for they lead to different estimations of the gap between the versions.

This can be appreciated by asking what secondary readings arise in each version of LXXV. In both schemes, LXXV vv. 25 and 26 are secondary, but Migsch adds to this list vv. 6, 36, 43, 44. These judgments support his theory that LXXV has read the chapter in an entirely new way, namely as narrative rather than discourse. According to Migsch, the chapter's original form was subjected to thoroughgoing revision by both versions, so as to apply its message afresh to a new generation (1996: 33). A more considered retroversion, however, suggests that only minor differences separate the two recensions. The implications of this are worth considering.

7.2.3 *Text or Recension?*

I concluded in §6.6.3-4 that the LXXV recension seems to have been interested in (among other things) parallels between vv. 1-15 and later parts of the chapter, whereas the recension behind M shows greater interest in tightening individual pericopae within the chapter. This is

21. The only exception is the fixed, quantitatively free rendition אהיה | ὁ ὤν (v. 17), which is also the only piece of contextual exegesis that draws on a remote context, namely Exod. 3.14 (cf. Tov 1997: 26).

seen not only from vv. 43-44, but also in v. 25—a similar verse in terms of its importance in the chapter. There, LXXV has assimilated to v. 10, but M has assimilated to v. 17 (by the plus 'יהוה אדני'). By contrast, the translator's interest is in the immediate context and the extra-textual world of which that context speaks.

This difference in focus should not be seen, however, as a sign of disparity. M and LXXV are similar not only in their discourse structure, but in the way they have been revised.[22] The difference is simply one of degree, and this extends to the apparent reasons for the additions, with structure a prime concern in both recensions. Further, these secondary readings often concern themselves with the same structural boundaries in M, LXXV and their parent text. And neither recension makes novel changes: that is, each extends features present in the common text. It is therefore misleading to call M 'fussy and cluttered' over against the 'clean and straightforward' G text (Holladay 1989: 4); this is only a relative statement, and not always true. For example, in 32.1-5 each version has pluses absent in the other; the half-verse absent from G does not repeat language from earlier in the passage; the repetitions most open to charges of superfluity (i.e. v. 3a, which is similar to v. 2b, and v. 4a, which is similar to v. 4b) occur in both M and G. This extension of extant features also applies to the technique of 'telescoped discussion', which is found in M and LXXV, as well as in M alone. In short, M and LXXV have shared interests and similar methods for improving their *Vorlage,* and these interests and methods can be found in the parent text as well.

If M and LXXV are so similar, should we then call them 'texts' and not 'recensions'? Janzen believes, 'Most, if not all [G pluses], may be attributed to scribal memory of (slightly different) parallel passages prevailing over attention to the text at hand' (1973: 67). Yet the structuring effect of secondary readings in LXXV does not suggest they are accidental; neither do they fall into random patterns (e.g. the threefold use of the first person in 32.26; 35.12; 36.1). What is more, the rearrangement of chs. 46–51 does not lend itself to a textual explanation,

22. This is not a novel idea. Min (1977: 315) comments, 'Only in terms of the amount of the textual expansion, [do] pluses in Jer-LXX differ from additions to Jer-MT.' Stipp (1994: 150-51) notes that כל, שם, הנה, לכן, ועתה, לאמר, independent personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, the formulae נאם יהוה, אלהי ישראל (16.2) and צבאות (49.18[29.19]) are elements found in both M and LXXV as isolated pluses.

despite Janzen's attempts to argue this.[23] Like Janzen, Reimer (1993: 154) veers away from the idea of two recensions, less because of the similarity of M and LXXV than because of the sporadic and inconsistent nature of the revision, but this too seems to me an overreaction. Textual features need to be explained alongside the evident recensional activity which has occurred, neither being allowed to obscure the other. Three points suggest themselves.

First, it is unhelpful to call LXXV older and M later, as if LXXV was M's *Vorlage*. Rather, each recension adds secondary readings to a common text base. It is more accurate to say that LXXV has revised this text less extensively than M. There is no saying on textual grounds which revision came first.

Secondly, the similarities noted between M and LXXV suggest that the two recensions did not originate in widely separated times or circumstances. Separation there must have been, of course, and such pluses as 30.10-11; 33.14-26; 48.45-46; 52.28-30 must be taken into consideration, as well as oft-noted tendencies in M,[24] but the data mentioned point to a common background. Just what this means in terms of dating the recensions is an open question, but it does render improbable the extremely late dates given to M which require long stretches of time between M, LXXV and their parent text (cf. Schmid 1996; Piovanelli 1997).

Thirdly, it may therefore be unhelpful when tackling variant readings to pit M and G against each other. This is best illustrated, in Jeremiah 32, by the debate over vv. 11-14, where a prior commitment to one particular recension controls the decisions of most critics, irrespective of exegetical or archaeological considerations. A far happier outcome, in my judgment, is won by the recognition that the tensions in these verses are equally reflected in M and G, and go back to the parent text.

7.2.4 *The Prophet, the Text and the Critic*

The conclusions reached come close to the 'editorial' theory of Eichhorn (1803), and it is this 'redaction-historical' understanding of

23. Janzen (1973: 115-16); see the review of Stipp by Goldman (1997: esp. 166-69).

24. For example, M 'accentuates the role of Babylon and its king in the divine programme and favours the exiles in Babylon over against Zedekiah and those with him in Jerusalem' (Stulman 1986: 143).

the relationship between the witnesses that leads Goldman (1992) to advocate the use of redaction-critical tools in the evaluation of variants. The method of approach I have taken in §6.6 towards vv. 36, 43-44 shares some elements with the method of Goldman, although I have a rather different understanding of what constitutes cohesion, being less controlled by redaction-critical assumptions, and less optimistic about the reliability of textual unevenness as an indicator of redactional activity. Needless to say, this difference only confirms the subjectivity inherent in deciding between 'easy' and 'difficult' readings, but at least the approach taken here, like Goldman's, recognizes that not all variants are susceptible to text-critical analysis, which is surely a prerequisite for responsible handling of the text.

It is when more specific statements about the origin of the two recensions are attempted that the critic's individuality is most strongly felt. In the tradition of Bright (e.g. 1965: lxxi), one might locate the production of the book in the exilic period, perhaps even casting Baruch and Seraiah as the shapers of LXXV and M respectively (so Lundbom 1986: 108). In this case, one would begin with Baruch's private collection of oracles etc., written at various times over the years and bound up together, from which, it might be hypothesized, he made fair copies for general circulation. One such fair copy was LXXV, written for the local Egyptian community (and in which Jeremiah speaks in the first person more often because he was or recently had been resident in the community in person). A subsequent fair copy (M) was much expanded and revised as befitted the 'final draft' destined for Babylon (where resided the one group in whose future the book itself expressed confidence). Baruch rearranged his materials into a more appropriate order, but the variety in orthography, expression, etc. that characterized the slowly growing collection (e.g. chs. 27–29) was largely left alone (cf. Eichhorn 1803: 154).

Two types of objection are raised against such theories: the literary-critical, such as may emerge from the theory of postexilic Deuteronomistic contributors to Jeremiah,[25] and the text-critical, such as the judgment of Janzen (1973: 131-35) that a significant transmission history

25. A theory that makes Lohfink (1995: 358) highly sceptical of Lundbom's reconstruction (on which he comments, 'Diese schöne Theorie...ist...ganz und gar unwahrscheinlich'). Cf. Person 1993: 187-91.

for the parent text is required in order to explain errors common to M and LXXV.[26]

However, both types of objection, as well as the reconstruction itself, are ultimately literary-critical in nature, products of the presuppositions and methods selected at the outset. Even Janzen's arguments are not strictly text-critical, as they are based on readings common to M and G, including many putative expansions, doublets, etc., judged as such simply because they are 'disruptive' (the divine title in 32.14 is one example).[27]

The same is true of all reconstructions of textual history. For example, a consistent reconstruction can be made dating M to the time of Zerubbabel (Goldman 1992), and objections based on Qumran texts (Piovanelli 1997) or internal considerations (Schmid 1996) can be mounted that undermine such an early dating, but they will not be strong enough to overturn the theory, which is quite able, within its own premisses, to weather the storm.

In short, what Jeremiah has to offer is a delight to the redaction critic and a frustration to the textual critic. For ultimately, the recensional independence of M and G places the identity of their parent beyond the reach of text-critical method. In many cases, variants can be evaluated with a good degree of confidence, but there is a large residue of M pluses in particular that is intractable. Most critics apply the rule *lectio brevior potior* to this residue, and support this judgment by showing how often the pluses in question introduce tensions into their contexts (Stipp 1994: 66). Yet this preference for the *lectio facilior* is somewhat suspect, especially since the M reviser was mostly successful in his goal of fitting pluses smoothly into their contexts (Stipp 1994: 75). As McKane says of Thiel's 'D' source, it 'amounts to heads I win, tails you lose' (1986: xlv). After all, the traditional partner of *lectio brevior* is *lectio difficilior.* In essence, Stipp's search for *Kohärenzstörungen* is a redaction-critical exercise. On the other hand, Goldman's solution of fusing text- and redaction-critical method is tacitly adopted by all critics who recover an *Urtext* by way of generalization.

26. Note also Stipp's argument that the M pluses contain a distinctive post-exilic idiolect (1994: 77-82, 142).

27. Even obviously problematic passages, like 10.1-16 and 11.18–12.6, have been defended in their extant form (Craigie, Kelley and Drinkard 1991). On the other hand, a certain amount of corruption in the parent text can be accommodated within a theory similar to Lundbom's.

Where the evaluation of variants and resultant recovery of a parent text requires literary-critical tools, and is therefore subject to the uncertainties native to such methods, the task of retroversion fits more readily within text-critical categories. We may have confidence that the translator did not mutilate his *Vorlage*, and so the way is clear for us to 'break the seal' of the Greek text, progressing towards the reconstruction of LXXV with increasing certitude.

Finally, the assumption that we are dealing with two 'books' or recensions—which the results of the present study do nothing to alter—gives to each text its own integrity, the violation of which is not lightly undertaken. This has implications for commentary writers. Holladay says, 'Given the conclusion that *M* is an expansionist text, the necessity to base one's exegesis in the first instance on a text unencumbered by expansions is clear' (1989: 4). However, we must distinguish between the use of G to correct mistakes in M and the use of G to undo revision in M. For better or for worse, M is a finished product, as is LXXV, and as such deserves consideration as a finished whole. After all, without such consideration of each version in its entirety, the reconstruction of earlier stages of the text loses its firmest foundation.

Appendix

THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS OF JEREMIAH 32[39] COMPARED

Jeremiah 32[39].1-15	After *BHS* and Ziegler[1]
1 הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה בַּשְּׁנַת הָעֲשִׂרִית לְצִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה הִיא הַשָּׁנָה שְׁמֹנֶה־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לִנְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר׃	1 ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμιαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ δεκάτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σεδεκια οὗτος ἐνιαυτὸς ὀκτωκαιδέκατος τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος
2 וְאָז חֵיל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל צָרִים עַל־ יְרוּשָׁלָםִ וְיִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא הָיָה כָלוּא בַּחֲצַר הַמַּטָּרָה אֲשֶׁר בֵּית־מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה׃	2 καὶ δύναμις βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος ἐχαράκωσεν ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ Ιερεμιας ἐφυλάσσετο ἐν αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς ἥ ἐστιν ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως
3 אֲשֶׁר כְּלָאוֹ צִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה לֵאמֹר מַדּוּעַ אַתָּה נִבָּא לֵאמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי נֹתֵן אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בְּיַד מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וּלְכָדָהּ׃	3 ἐν ᾗ κατέκλεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκιας λέγων διὰ τί σὺ προφητεύεις λέγων οὕτως εἶπε κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δίδωμι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἐν χερσὶ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν
4 וְצִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה לֹא יִמָּלֵט מִיַּד הַכַּשְׂדִּים כִּי הִנָּתֹן יִנָּתֵן בְּיַד מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וְדִבֶּר־פִּיו עִם־פִּיו וְעֵינָיו אֶת־עֵינָו תִּרְאֶינָה׃	4 καὶ Σεδεκιας οὐ μὴ σωθῇ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅτι παραδόσει παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος καὶ λαλήσει στόμα αὐτοῦ πρὸς στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὄψονται
5 וּבָבֶל יוֹלִךְ אֶת־צִדְקִיָּהוּ וְשָׁם יִהְיֶה עַד־פָּקְדִי אֹתוֹ נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי תִלָּחֲמוּ אֶת־הַכַּשְׂדִּים לֹא תַצְלִיחוּ׃ פ	5 καὶ εἰσελεύσεται Σεδεκιας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ἐκεῖ καθιεῖται
6 וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ הָיָה דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר׃	6 καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ιερεμιαν λέγων
7 הִנֵּה חֲנַמְאֵל בֶּן־שַׁלֻּם דֹּדְךָ בָּא אֵלֶיךָ לֵאמֹר קְנֵה לְךָ אֶת־שָׂדִי אֲשֶׁר בַּעֲנָתוֹת כִּי לְךָ מִשְׁפַּט הַגְּאֻלָּה לִקְנוֹת׃	7 ἰδοὺ Αναμεηλ υἱὸς Σαλωμ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός σου ἔρχεται πρὸς σὲ λέγων κτῆσαι σεαυτῷ τὸν ἀγρόν μου τὸν ἐν Αναθωθ ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτῆσιν

1. Ziegler's text has occasionally been altered to reflect the conclusions of the present study.

8 וַיָּבֹא אֵלַי חֲנַמְאֵל בֶּן־דֹּדִי כִּדְבַר יְהוָה אֶל־חֲצַר הַמַּטָּרָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי קְנֵה נָא אֶת־שָׂדִי אֲשֶׁר־בַּעֲנָתוֹת אֲשֶׁר ׀ בְּאֶרֶץ בִּנְיָמִין כִּי־לְךָ מִשְׁפַּט הַיְרֻשָּׁה וּלְךָ הַגְּאֻלָּה קְנֵה־לָךְ וָאֵדַע כִּי דְבַר־יְהוָה הוּא׃	8 καὶ ἦλθεν πρός με Αναμεηλ υἱὸς Σαλωμ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἶπέν μοι κτῆσαι τὸν ἀγρόν μου τὸν ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν τὸν ἐν Αναθωθ ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι λόγος κυρίου ἐστίν
9 וָאֶקְנֶה אֶת־הַשָּׂדֶה מֵאֵת חֲנַמְאֵל בֶּן־דֹּדִי אֲשֶׁר בַּעֲנָתוֹת וָאֶשְׁקֲלָה־לּוֹ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף שִׁבְעָה שְׁקָלִים וַעֲשָׂרָה הַכָּסֶף׃	9 καὶ ἐκτησάμην τὸν ἀγρὸν Αναμεηλ υἱοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἔστησα αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ σίκλους καὶ δέκα ἀργυρίου
10 וָאֶכְתֹּב בַּסֵּפֶר וָאֶחְתֹּם וָאָעֵד עֵדִים וָאֶשְׁקֹל הַכֶּסֶף בְּמֹאזְנָיִם׃	10 καὶ ἔγραψα εἰς βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγι- σάμην καὶ διεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας καὶ ἔστησα τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν ζυγῷ
11 וָאֶקַּח אֶת־סֵפֶר הַמִּקְנָה אֶת־ הֶחָתוּם הַמִּצְוָה וְהַחֻקִּים וְאֶת־הַגָּלוּי׃	11 καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον
12 וָאֶתֵּן אֶת־הַסֵּפֶר הַמִּקְנָה אֶל־ בָּרוּךְ בֶּן־נֵרִיָּה בֶּן־מַחְסֵיָה לְעֵינֵי חֲנַמְאֵל דֹּדִי וּלְעֵינֵי הָעֵדִים הַכֹּתְבִים בְּסֵפֶר הַמִּקְנָה לְעֵינֵי כָּל־ הַיְּהוּדִים הַיֹּשְׁבִים בַּחֲצַר הַמַּטָּרָה׃	12 καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὸ τῷ Βαρουχ υἱῷ Νηριου υἱοῦ Μαασαιου κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς Αναμεηλ υἱοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου καὶ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἑστηκότων καὶ γραφόντων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν Ιουδαίων τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς
13 וָאֲצַוֶּה אֶת בָּרוּךְ לְעֵינֵיהֶם לֵאמֹר׃	13 καὶ συνέταξα τῷ Βαρουχ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν λέγων
14 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לָקוֹחַ אֶת־הַסְּפָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֵת סֵפֶר הַמִּקְנָה הַזֶּה וְאֵת הֶחָתוּם וְאֵת סֵפֶר הַגָּלוּי הַזֶּה וּנְתַתָּם בִּכְלִי־ חָרֶשׂ לְמַעַן יַעַמְדוּ יָמִים רַבִּים׃ ס	14 οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος παντοκράτωρ λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τοῦτο καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον καὶ θήσεις αὐτὸ εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὀστράκινον ἵνα διαμείνῃ ἡμέρας πλείους
15 כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד יִקָּנוּ בָתִּים וְשָׂדוֹת וּכְרָמִים בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת׃	15 ὅτι οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ἔτι κτηθήσονται ἀγροὶ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ ἀμπελῶνες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ

Jeremiah 32[39].16-25

16 וָאֶתְפַּלֵּל אֶל־יְהוָה אַחֲרֵי תִתִּי אֶת־סֵפֶר הַמִּקְנָה אֶל־בָּרוּךְ בֶּן־ נֵרִיָּה לֵאמֹר׃	16 καὶ προσευξάμην πρὸς κύριον μετὰ τὸ δοῦναί με τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως πρὸς Βαρουχ υἱὸν Νηριου λέγων
17 אֲהָהּ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הִנֵּה ׀ אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּכֹחֲךָ הַגָּדוֹל וּבִזְרֹעֲךָ הַנְּטוּיָה לֹא־יִפָּלֵא מִמְּךָ כָּל־דָּבָר׃	17 ὦ κύριε σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ καὶ τῷ μετεώρῳ οὐ μὴ ἀποκρυβῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐθέν

18 עֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד לַאֲלָפִים וּמְשַׁלֵּם עֲוֹן אָבוֹת אֶל־חֵיק בְּנֵיהֶם אַחֲרֵיהֶם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ׃	18 ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων εἰς κόλπους τέκνων αὐτῶν μετ᾽ αὐτούς ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρός
19 גְּדֹל הָעֵצָה וְרַב הָעֲלִילִיָּה אֲשֶׁר־עֵינֶיךָ פְקֻחוֹת עַל־כָּל־ דַּרְכֵי בְּנֵי אָדָם לָתֵת לְאִישׁ כִּדְרָכָיו וְכִפְרִי מַעֲלָלָיו׃	19 κύριος μεγάλης βουλῆς καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ μεγαλώνυμος κύριος οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ
20 אֲשֶׁר־שַׂמְתָּ אֹתוֹת וּמֹפְתִים בְּאֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּבְיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבָאָדָם וַתַּעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ שֵׁם כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה׃	20 ὃς ἐποίησας σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης καὶ ἐν Ισραηλ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γηγενέσιν καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη
21 וַתֹּצֵא אֶת־עַמְּךָ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם בְּאֹתוֹת וּבְמוֹפְתִים וּבְיָד חֲזָקָה וּבְאֶזְרוֹעַ נְטוּיָה וּבְמוֹרָא גָּדוֹל׃	21 καὶ ἐξήγαγες τὸν λαόν σου Ισραηλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν σημείοις καὶ ἐν τέρασιν καὶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν μεγάλοις
22 וַתִּתֵּן לָהֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לַאֲבוֹתָם לָתֵת לָהֶם אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ׃	22 καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἣν ὤμοσας τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι
23 וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיִּרְשׁוּ אֹתָהּ וְלֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְקוֹלֶךָ וּבְתֹרוֹתְךָ לֹא־הָלָכוּ אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה לָהֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת לֹא עָשׂוּ וַתַּקְרֵא אֹתָם אֵת כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת׃	23 καὶ εἰσήλθοσαν καὶ ἐλάβοσαν αὐτὴν καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασίν σου οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ἅπαντα ἃ ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα
24 הִנֵּה הַסֹּלְלוֹת בָּאוּ הָעִיר לְלָכְדָהּ וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים הַנִּלְחָמִים עָלֶיהָ מִפְּנֵי הַחֶרֶב וְהָרָעָב וְהַדָּבֶר וַאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ הָיָה וְהִנְּךָ רֹאֶה׃	24 ἰδοὺ ὄχλος ἥκει εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην συλλαβεῖν αὐτήν καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων τῶν πολεμούντων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ ὡς ἐλάλησας οὕτως ἐγένετο
25 וְאַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ אֵלַי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה קְנֵה־לְךָ הַשָּׂדֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וְהָעֵד עֵדִים וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים׃	25 καὶ σὺ λέγεις πρός με κτῆσαι σεαυτῷ ἀγρὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ ἔγραψα βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην καὶ ἐπεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων

Jeremiah 32[39].26-35

26 וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ לֵאמֹר׃	26 καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός με λέγων
27 הִנֵּה אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי כָּל־בָּשָׂר הֲמִמֶּנִּי יִפָּלֵא כָּל־דָּבָר׃	27 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πάσης σαρκός μὴ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ κρυβήσεταί τι
28 לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי נֹתֵן אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים וּבְיַד נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וּלְכָדָהּ׃	28 διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται ἡ πόλις αὕτη εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν
29 וּבָאוּ הַכַּשְׂדִּים הַנִּלְחָמִים עַל־ הָעִיר הַזֹּאת וְהִצִּיתוּ אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בָּאֵשׁ וּשְׂרָפוּהָ וְאֵת הַבָּתִּים אֲשֶׁר קִטְּרוּ עַל־גַּגּוֹתֵיהֶם לַבַּעַל וְהִסִּכוּ נְסָכִים לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְמַעַן הַכְעִסֵנִי׃	29 καὶ ἥξουσιν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολεμοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ καύσουσιν τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἐν πυρὶ καὶ κατακαύσουσιν τὰς οἰκίας ἐν αἷς ἐθυμιῶσαν ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων αὐτῶν τῇ Βααλ καὶ ἔσπενδον σπονδὰς θεοῖς ἑτέροις πρὸς τὸ παραπικρᾶναί με
30 כִּי־הָיוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי יְהוּדָה אַךְ עֹשִׂים הָרַע בְּעֵינַי מִנְּעֻרֹתֵיהֶם כִּי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַךְ מַכְעִסִים אֹתִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃	30 ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ιουδα μόνοι ποιοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν κατ' ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῶν
31 כִּי עַל־אַפִּי וְעַל־חֲמָתִי הָיְתָה לִּי הָעִיר הַזֹּאת לְמִן־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ אוֹתָהּ וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לַהֲסִירָהּ מֵעַל פָּנָי׃	31 ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν ὀργήν μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θυμόν μου ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ᾠκοδόμησαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ προσώπου μου
32 עַל כָּל־רָעַת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לְהַכְעִסֵנִי הֵמָּה מַלְכֵיהֶם שָׂרֵיהֶם כֹּהֲנֵיהֶם וּנְבִיאֵיהֶם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלִָם׃	32 διὰ πάσας τὰς πονηρίας τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα ὧν ἐποίησαν πικρᾶναί με αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Ιουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ιερουσαλημ
33 וַיִּפְנוּ אֵלַי עֹרֶף וְלֹא פָנִים וְלַמֵּד אֹתָם הַשְׁכֵּם וְלַמֵּד וְאֵינָם שֹׁמְעִים לָקַחַת מוּסָר׃	33 καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν πρός με νῶτον καὶ οὐ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐδίδαξα αὐτοὺς ὄρθρου καὶ ἐδίδαξα καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἐπιλαβεῖν παιδείαν
34 וַיָּשִׂימוּ שִׁקּוּצֵיהֶם בַּבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר־ נִקְרָא־שְׁמִי עָלָיו לְטַמְּאוֹ׃	34 καὶ ἔθηκαν τὰ μιάσματα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν

35 וַיִּבְנוּ אֶת־בָּמוֹת הַבַּעַל אֲשֶׁר ׀ בְּגֵיא בֶן־הִנֹּם לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם לַמֹּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־צִוִּיתִים וְלֹא עָלְתָה עַל־לִבִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת הַתּוֹעֵבָה הַזֹּאת לְמַעַן הַחֲטִי אֶת־יְהוּדָה׃ ס	35 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τοὺς βωμοὺς τῇ Βααλ τοὺς ἐν φάραγγι υἱοῦ Εννομ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τῷ Μολοχ βασιλεῖ ἃ οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ καρδίαν μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ βδέλυγμα τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἐφαμαρτεῖν τὸν Ιουδαν

Jeremiah 32[39].36-44

36 וְעַתָּה לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר ׀ אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים נִתְּנָה בְּיַד מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל בַּחֶרֶב וּבָרָעָב וּבַדָּבֶר׃	36 καὶ νῦν οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἣν σὺ λέγεις παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν ἀποστολῇ
37 הִנְנִי מְקַבְּצָם מִכָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִדַּחְתִּים שָׁם בְּאַפִּי וּבַחֲמָתִי וּבְקֶצֶף גָּדוֹל וַהֲשִׁבֹתִים אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְהֹשַׁבְתִּים לָבֶטַח׃	37 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ συνάγω αὐτοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς οὗ διέσπειρα αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐν ὀργῇ μου καὶ τῷ θυμῷ μου καὶ παροξυσμῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπιστρέψω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ καθιῶ αὐτοὺς πεποιθότας
38 וְהָיוּ לִי לְעָם וַאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים׃	38 καὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν
39 וְנָתַתִּי לָהֶם לֵב אֶחָד וְדֶרֶךְ אֶחָד לְיִרְאָה אוֹתִי כָּל־הַיָּמִים לְטוֹב לָהֶם וְלִבְנֵיהֶם אַחֲרֵיהֶם׃	39 καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν ἑτέραν καὶ καρδίαν ἑτέραν φοβηθῆναί με πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας εἰς ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτούς
40 וְכָרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־אָשׁוּב מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם לְהֵיטִיבִי אוֹתָם וְאֶת־יִרְאָתִי אֶתֵּן בִּלְבָבָם לְבִלְתִּי סוּר מֵעָלָי׃	40 καὶ διαθήσομαι αὐτοῖς διαθήκην αἰωνίαν ἣν οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν φόβον μου δώσω εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
41 וְשַׂשְׂתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לְהֵטִיב אוֹתָם וּנְטַעְתִּים בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת בֶּאֱמֶת בְּכָל־לִבִּי וּבְכָל־נַפְשִׁי׃ ס	41 καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι τοῦ ἀγαθῶσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ φυτεύσω αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐν πίστει καὶ ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ
42 כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר הֵבֵאתִי אֶל־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֵת כָּל־הָרָעָה הַגְּדוֹלָה הַזֹּאת כֵּן אָנֹכִי מֵבִיא עֲלֵיהֶם אֶת־כָּל־הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי דֹּבֵר עֲלֵיהֶם׃	42 ὅτι οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος καθὰ ἐπήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον πάντα τὰ κακὰ τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγὼ ἐπάξω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά ἃ ἐλάλησα ἐπ' αὐτούς

43 וְנִקְנָה הַשָּׂדֶה בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת	43 καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἀγροὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ᾗ σὺ
אֲשֶׁר ׀ אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים שְׁמָמָה	λέγεις ἄβατός ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ
הִיא מֵאֵין אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה נִתְּנָה	κτήνους καὶ παρεδόθησαν εἰς χεῖρας
בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים׃	Χαλδαίων
44 שָׂדוֹת בַּכֶּסֶף יִקְנוּ וְכָתוֹב	44 καὶ κτήσονται ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀργυρίῳ καὶ
בַּסֵּפֶר ׀ וְחָתוֹם וְהָעֵד עֵדִים	γράψεις βιβλίον καὶ σφραγιῇ καὶ διαμαρτυρῇ
בְּאֶרֶץ בִּנְיָמִן וּבִסְבִיבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַםִ	μάρτυρας ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν καὶ κύκλῳ
וּבְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְעָרֵי הָהָר וּבְעָרֵי	Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν Ιουδα καὶ ἐν
הַשְּׁפֵלָה וּבְעָרֵי הַנֶּגֶב כִּי־אָשִׁיב	πόλεσιν τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν τῆς
אֶת־שְׁבוּתָם נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃ פ	Σεφηλα καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν τῆς Ναγεβ ὅτι
	ἀποστρέψω τὰς ἀποικίας αὐτῶν

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